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அமரர். ஆர். திருமலை. இ.ஆ.ப.
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JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. IX OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME NINE : 1982

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EDITORIAL

Welcome to Gorakhapur :

We are happy to welcome our accredited members to Gorakhpur for the IXth Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India and present them with the 9th volume of our Journal. We are thankful to our members for their active cooperation which has enabled us to bring out the issues of the Journal regularly. We are keenly aware that we have not been able to publish all the papers pending with us, inspite of our best efforts in that direction. We even thought of publishing a special issue including all the papers with us, but we could not succeed in doing so for paucity of time and, of course, funds. We hope to achieve this goal by next year.

National Seminar on the Kadambas :

An event of considerable interest to the members of the Society took place this month at Banavāsi in the Sirsi taluk of North Kanara district in Karnataka State. It was a National Seminar on the Kadambas. A special feature of the Seminar was its organisation in a rural set up right within the precincts of the temple of Madhukēśvara at Banavāsi the erstwhile capital of the Kadambas. The key-note address was delivered by Shri K. V. Soundara Rajan, Additional Director General of Archaeology, New Delhi. Dr. George M. Moraes, the pioneer in the Kadamba studies was the guest of honour and one of the moderators of the Seminar. The highlight of the Seminar was the publication of the volume of Early Kadamba Inscriptions edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal.

We appeal to our members to please intimate to the society such events of academic interest and importance taking place in any part of our country, so that attention of our members may be drawn to them through this Journal.

Our Thanks

We take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to our members who have encouraged us all through. The membership is steadily increasing and the number of participants in the annual congresses is also encouraging. We look forward to their sustained interest and support for the growth of the Society.

We would like to place here on record our deep sense of gratitude to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for their continued support, in the publication of this Journal regularly on the occasion of the inaugural of every congress. We are beholden to the authorities of the Council for their appreciation and encouragement of our activities.

Our Condolences

We deeply regret the sad and unexpected demise of two of our stalwarts in the field of epigraphy and Indology viz., Shri R. S. Panchamukhi and Shri C. Sivarama Murti.

Vidyāratna Shri R. S. Panchamukhi was a noted Sanskrit scholar, Epigraphist and Historian. He was the former Director

of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad. He was the President of the 4th Annual Congress of the Society, held at Madras in 1978.

Shri C. Sivarama Murti was a well known Sanskrit scholar, Indologist and Art Historian. He was the former Director of the National Museum, New Delhi. He has unfolded the glory of our Cultural Heritage through his numerous scholarly publications.

We pay homage to these savants who have guided the society all these years.

Our Appreciation

We highly appreciate the kind cooperation extended by our friends in Mysore, Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer and Shri Venkatesh in seeing this volume through the press in record time. We offer our sincere thanks to them. Our thanks are due to Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana, the Propriter of the Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore and his energetic assistant Shri R. Venkatesh for accomplishing a neat job in a limited time.

Shrinivas Ritti

Secretary and Executive Editor

IN MEMORY OF

VIDYARATHNA SHRI R. S. PANCHAMUKHI,
FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE KANNADA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
DHARWAR AND PRESIDENT OF THE IV ANNUAL CONGRESS
OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA,
HELD AT MADRAS, IN 1978

AND

PADMA SRI SHRI C. SIVARAMA MURTI,
FORMER DIRECTOR, NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI AND
HONORARY FELLOW, EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS *

K. G. Krishnan

It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I have accepted the decision of the Executive Committee of the Epigraphical Society to ask me to preside over this Congress. Perhaps in anticipation of more service in the field from me the Society had called upon me to continue my work even after my recent retirement from the Epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, where I have spent more than thirty years. I take this opportunity to project a review of the state of Epigraphical research and to lead with a few suggestions regarding the lines along which we may proceed.

Over the years during my career I have been witnessing the effects of change that has come upon the Educational field subjected to frequent shifts in the matter of curriculum and the medium of instruction. While the students coming out of the institutions are generally a good group by themselves, the confusion caused by these frequent shifts has played havoc leaving most of them unfit for many disciplines including that of Epigraphical research. The minimum equipments needed in a researcher in this field are a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, of a classical (regional) language like the Prakrits, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam and of Indian History. It is found that if they have the one they do not have the other while they should have all the three. Besides, the medium also creates difficulty in the matter of expression. This naturally leads to the so-called 'generation gap'. It is true that ancillary courses have been started recently almost in all subjects. But the standards have been relaxed in such a way that excellence, which is very much required, is given the go by. It is not very difficult to remedy this situation, if there is the will ! The Archaeological Survey of India which is controlling the Epigraphical branch should arrange to start a School of Epigraphy at the Office of the Chief Epigraphist at Mysore, which is undoubtedly the most suitable place. Students to be trained in the field should be selected carefully, with excellence as the only criterion. They should be supported financially. The course lasting for not less than one year should aim at ensuring the acquisition of the equipments indicated above along with the training in decipherment and interpretation of inscriptions. Even if a few, say not more than half a dozen, well-trained students are turned out every year it will go a long way to produce good researchers interested in the subject. We appeal to the Archaeological Survey to initiate action in this regard.

The next hurdle, bigger than all, is the nonavailability of original texts, well-edited and in quick succession. The main

* Delivered at the VIII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Bhopal on 13th, 14th and 15th February 1982.

difficulty in respect of this is not so much in the preparation of the texts as in the printing of the material. We are constrained to observe that the Archaeological Survey should not fight shy of printing the same by the off-set process, cost not with-standing, in the interest of the subject. This is more urgent because of the risk involved in the preservation of the impressions—not to speak of the original material, stone or copper, already lost or in the process of destruction. Here again the Archaeological Survey should step in a big way to relieve the situation. The project of reprinting the old volumes of Epigraphia Indica is a step in the right direction. It should not be very difficult for the Survey to extend this facility to the manuscripts of the volumes ready on hand, which may be set up in print with the help of a small treadle press and then reprint the required number of copies by offset process. The urgency in respect of this work will be realised when it is noted that region-wise or language-wise the largest number of a single collection i.e., not less than 20000, is from Tamil Nadu. This is the result of the accumulation, over the years, of collections made from about 1900 by the then unit at Madras with no corresponding provision for their publication. With the merger of that unit under the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in Madras with the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund the responsibility of having these published rested with the Archaeological Survey of India. All attempts to accelerate the speed of their publication have not borne fruit resulting in the present huge accumulation of unpublished inscriptions. It is imperative that a separate wing to clear the large accumulated Tamil inscriptions is set up with corresponding facility to print them simultaneously. The collections from other areas have also suffered the same fate, though they are lesser in numbers.

We would like to draw the attention of the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India to the fact that while the main department of the Survey as represented by the circles in various regions is getting the full benefit of every expansion proposal augmenting the strength of the units cadrewise and numberwise, the Epigraphical branch, which is in no way less important especially on account of its scholarly orientation, is still run on its old insufficient staff and funds, being always at the tail-end of the receiving line. We appeal to them to encourage that branch more effectively. It is hoped that the authorities will give due consideration to these suggestions.

We will now turn our attention to some of the problems in Epigraphical Research. One of the problems of academic interest is the origin of Brāhmī. Attempts have been made in the past to solve this. With no fresh material coming up it may end up only in a restatement of known positions. It remains to be seen whether a change in our approach will lead to any results. Before suggesting any new approach it is better to restate the background confining ourselves to a matter of fact statement of known situations.

The Brāhmī known to us in the north is from the Edicts issued by Aśōka. Prakrit was the language used by him.

They refer to the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kēraḷaputras and the Satiyaputras along with other foreign powers outside his empire. He appeals to the other powers to spread his message of dharma. His edicts are found upto Chitradurga in Karnataka and Kurnool District in Andhra Pradesh. It is known from other sources that he also sent missionaries to preach his message among the people of those countries.

Brāhmi is found used in the inscriptions in the caves and caverns of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirapalli and Tirunelveli Districts of Tamil Nadu, far away from the findspots of the Aśōkan edicts in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The language of the inscriptions is Tamiḷ. They refer to the Chōḷa, the Chēra (Kēraḷa) and the Pāṇḍya kings, though not all of the same period. The caverns having beds inscribed in some cases were used by Jaina ascetics.

As against this matter-of-fact situation what are the references made on the basis of these inscriptions ? It is held that Aśōka invented the Brāhmī script[1] and it spread to the south after the engraving of his edicts. The name Brāhmī met with in later literature indicates that as any other creation this is also attributed to Brahmā, the primordial deity associated with the creation of the universe and that its actual origin, not certainly attributable to Aśōka, is unknown to anybody. The introduction of this script after the times of Aśōkan edicts is also referred on the basis of a comparison of Aśōkan forms with those of the caves. The assumption that the Chōḷas, the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas, contemporaries of Aśōka did not have a script is undoubtedly unwarranted. Dani's attempt to date the cave inscriptions from the beginning of the Christian Era fails to take note of the cultural *context* in which they should have been considered though he claims to have attempted to explain palaeography as part of a culture.[2] We hold that a formal comparison of the Aśōkan forms with those of the cave inscriptions will not present a true picture. It will be presently demonstrated how a factual consideration of the alphabets and the scripts in both the areas influences the question of the origin of Brāhmī.

The Brāhmī script of Aśōkan inscriptions represents a settled from of alphabet in every respect. Scholars have analysed very well the inter-relationship of the alphabet of Sanskrit/Prakrit language and the script. They have shown that there are three basic vowels *a*, *i* and *u* and 19 basic consonants from which the other vowels and consonants could be derived.[3] But it is absolutely necessary that a complete consideration of the phonetic values of these letters along with their corresponding forms internally among themselves and also the relationship between the sound and the form is made. Naturally the Sanskrit alphabet (also Prakrit by courtesy) has been considered as basic for the purpose. In the course of an evolution of any language the formation of an alphabet, which is supposed to precede the appearance of writing, should have its own stages of evolution from the phonetic point of view. It is not difficult to indicate the different stages in the evolution of the alphabet. The vowles present no problem; *a*, *i* and *u* are basic and different

from each other and other vowels are only extensions of these basic sounds. The consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet present a problem. The classification of these as guttural, palatal, lingual, dental and labial follows clearly the place of birth of these sounds. But the middle three viz., the aspirates of the surds, the soft and the aspirates of the soft consonants are phonetically the extensions of the primary hard consonants such as *ka*, *cha*, *ṭa*, *ta* and *pa*. The nasals are produced by a combination of action from the nose and the places of birth of the five primary consonants. The *ya*, *ra*, *la* and *va* are different from the rest with reference to their place of birth only *in degrees* and not in nature. The sibilants *sa*, *śa* and *sha* are to be classed with the palatals, though voiced. The sound *ha* is totally voiced without a place of birth in no way common with all other sounds except with vowel *a*. Thus the basic consonants can be further reduced by eliminating the extension, to fourteen consonants (*ka*, *ṅa*, *cha*, *ña*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *ta*, *na*, *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*).[4] Thus the evolution of this alphabet has been arrived at in two (or more) stages, basic and extended. The consonants are written as if they are vowelled ones and when they are written one below the other (*saṁyuktākshara*), the upper member is treated as a stop consonant without any mark over it. It will be seen that the derivation of forms other than these three vowels and fourteen consonants agrees with the second stage representing the extension of the basic alphabet delineated above, in their written forms as well. This satisfies the requirements of an evolutionary process as against the overnight invention of all the forms. It is true that the rationale behind the selection of forms of these basic letters remains to be exposed.

An examination of the cave inscriptions in Tamil Nadu shows that the alphabet required to write the Tamil text was already there and that it consisted of a few extended letters which were derived from the basic ones e.g., *ḷa* from *la*, *ṟa* from *ra*[5] *ṉa* from *na*. The letter *ḻa* has a form unknown to the Aśōkan edicts.[6] The letter *ma* is not the same as the Asōkan form as proved by the ductus in its evolution.[7] It is also found that the authors of the cave inscriptions were not sure as to how to distinguish between the stop consonants and the full consonants, more so because of the absence of *saṁyuktākasharas* in Tamil. They were aware of the fact, obviously by contact with the local people, that the consonants are to be written alongside and not one below the other. It will be gratutious to presume that this development took place only after the script travelled from the north to the south. The non-observance of the dotting system germane to the script on account of the rugged surface (found throughout its history with very few exceptions) has resulted in the half-hearted introduction of the medial vowel *a* only in some cases while the other medial vowels were attached to the consonants themselves. This indicates that these inscriptions do not belong to the mainstream, confined as they are to the hillocks resorted to by the Jaina ascetics. It is evident that they wanted to provide for the writing of the Prakrit words by retaining the aspirates and sibilants. But it was soon given up by using only the primary consonants in their place quite in keeping

with the local practice of absorbing the northern words.[8]

We are thus inclined to hold that a basic alphabet common to the whole of India was developed and it was adapted to the situations of the languages such as Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil with extended or derived forms of writing the special letters in the respective regions.

Another problem is the study of caste system which is of topical interest. Said to be another divine creation, the slow process of evolution through the ages due to circumstances beyond human control will explain its origin. But the proliferation and the debasement of the system are aspects which may be studied afresh. The debasement has obviously been caused by the rigid system making no provision for uplifting the rejected or excommunicated members of the community who formed the fifth caste. Epigraphy is very late in recording intances of untouchability in any part of India, though its existence is known from tradition and literature for a very long time. A solitary instance is known to us. An inscription of Rājēndra-chōḷa I (1012-1042 A.D.) from Bāhūr in the Pondicherry State refers to the exclusion of the inhabitants of *tīṇḍāchchēri* (quarters of the untouchables) from participation in the public works like desilting the tank of the locality and other agricultural operations along with workers of other castes.[9]

Regarding proliferation, it is obvious that it must have been due to the intercaste marital relationship. *Manu-smṛiti* has laid down the duties of the people born out of these marriages. Since the actual occurrence of such marital relationships is not governed by any rules the *Smṛitikāras* have only defined the relationships and laid down duties of persons born out of them covering only cases of known and declared parentage. While these permutations and combinations are discussed elsewhere, we get a few references to a term called Saṅkarappāḍiyāṉ in Tamil inscriptions of the 9th - 11th centuries. This term was fully discussed leading to the conclusions that Saṅkarappāḍiyār as a group formed part of the *kuḍi* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities, that some of them at least, if not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the Nagara constitution which we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.[10] The etymology of the word seems to point out that this group might have consisted of persons born out of the mingling of the castes (*varṇa-saṅkara*)[11] in which case they might have been allowed to live only in their own quarters (*pāḍi*) and to follow apparently the profession of trading. The actual castes involved in this case are not known from this reference. We may, however, infer that since nearly all of them are found to be merchants by profession they might have been born out of the union of a Vaiśya male with a Kshatriya lady evidently by *pratilōma*, who was designated by Manu as Magadha and he is prescribed the profession of merchant (*vaṇikpathaḥ*).[12] The suffix *pāḍi* attached to the word *śaṅkarappāḍi* suggests that they were living in separate quarters, though they formed part of the civic body called Nagarattār.[13]

I thank you all for your patient hearing and I hope, this address, though short, will inspire you to work on many such problems that await our attention.

1 *The Origin of Brāhmī Script* - Ed. S.P. Gupta and K. S. Ramachandran, Delhi, 1979, pp. XX-XXIV; 1-53.

2 Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, London, 1963, p. 10 and pp. 73-74.

3 Dani, op. cit., p. 27; Upasak, *The History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmī Script*, Nalanda, 1960, p. 15.

4 Krishnan, 'Brāhmī Script in Tamil Nadu' in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India). Vol. I, 1974, pp. 26-30

5 The derivation of *ṛa* has to be related to a cursive form of *ra* only and not to Sāñchī *ḷa* as Dani (op. cit., p. 70-71) would have it, as it is disproved by later development.

6 Dani has ignored the full rounded form of this letter with the vertical bar extended downwords seen in the cave inscriptions. This provides one more proof of its independent formation. The opinion of Ramesh that this form as well as the Kannaḍa *ṛa* and *ḷa* have to be related to the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* signs deserves to be considered in this context (*QJMS.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 77 ff.).

7 This much misunderstood letter has not been studied by scholars from the point of view of the ductus which Bühler has sagaciously used in explaining palaeographic developments.

8 Krishnan, *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Madras, 1981, pp. 87-98.

9 *A. R. Ep.*, 1976-77, No. B 198.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 146-47.

11 *Manusmṛiti*, chapter 10, verse No. 24.

12 Ibid., verses Nos. 11 and 47.

13 *SII.*, Vol. XVII, No. 310.

1 TEMBHURNI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I

H. S. Thosar

These plates were discovered at Tembhurṇi in the Sholapur district in Maharashtra. Since then these were with Shri. M. M. Hadge, Sholapur district. Shri. Arvind Hingmire, Lecturer in History, Kumaraswamy College, Ausa, Osmanabad District, made these plates available to me for reading. After a preliminary reading, we published a note on it in the Marathi Journal *Pratishṭhān*, published from Aurangabad.[1]

This is a set of three rectangular copper plates, each measuring 20 cms. in length and 10 cms. in breadth. These plates were held together by a copper ring passing through a circular hole, the diameter of which is 1 cm. The weight of the set is 1 kg. and 250 gms.

Unfortunately each of these plates has been broken into four pieces. The ring has also broken into several pieces, out of which only two are extant. The reading has become very difficult, because the letters at the broken edges have been completely lost. The same is the difficulty in deciphering the letters on the rim.

The edges of the plates are thickened and raised to give protection to the engraving. The first and the third plates have been inscribed only on the inner sides, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The first plate contains ten lines; the second plate has nine on the obverse and ten lines on the reverse side and the third plate contains nine lines. There are altogether thirtyeight lines.

The characters belong to the Southern type of Brāhmī which was in vogue during the 7th century A.D. The script of the present grant is identical with that of the Savṇūr[2] and Gadval[3] plates of Vikramāditya I, the Chalukya king of Bādāmi. The language is Sanskrit and the rules of *sandhi* have been generally observed. But there are a few errors in the writing as well as in the drafting of the present charter. The characters *cha* and *va*, for example, look so similar that they are to be deciphered with reference to the context.

The object of the charter is to record the royal grant of the village Pariyaṇḍa to the brāhmaṇa Vishṇuśarman, the son of Pāṇḍusvāmin and the grand son of Śaṅkarasvāmin belonging to Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and Taittirīya-śākhā. The grant was made at the request of *yuvarāja* Vinayāditya.

When the grant was made, King Vikramāditya I was on a campaign against the Pallavas of Kāñchī. The present charter was issued by him from his victorious camp at Daśaṇūka-grāma, which, according to the grant, was situated to the east of Virājamaṅgala, and in the Chōḷa-dēśa. The donated village Pariyaṇḍa-grāma is stated to be situated to the north of Karakiñcha-nagara and included in the Kaḷumayi-vishaya. The endowment

was made on the occasion of the end of Uttarāyaṇa.

The date of the grant is given as Śaka 594, regnal year 17, Āshāḍha, Uttarāyaṇa - samāpti. Neither the week day nor the *tithi* is mentioned.

Like other Chalukya grants, this charter begins with the Varāha-stuti. Then it sketches the genealogy of the Chalukya ruling family up to Vikramāditya I. It is more or less similar to other charters of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The present charter was issued by Vikramāditya I from his victorious camp at Daśaṇūka-grāma lying in the Chōḷa-dēśa and to the south of Virājamaṅgala. This indicates that even during the seventeenth year of Vikramāditya's reign, the conflict between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas was in full swing. The present grant, however, sheds new light on the role played by Vinayāditya as *yuvarāja* in assisting his father Vikramāditya I in the administration of his kingdom. This is the only charter so far known where Vinayāditya figures as *yuvarāja*.

Vinayāditya was the successor of Vikramāditya I and is believed to have ascended the throne in 681 A. D. But the exact date of his accession has been a subject of controversy.[4] According to some scholars the reason for this discrepancy is that, even before his accession, Vinayāditya managed the affairs of government in an independent capacity[5] His father Vikramāditya I had to remain absent from the kingdom because the conflict between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas continued throughout his reign. So he appointed Vinayāditya as *yuvarāja* and left the charge of administration to him. This is confirmed by the present charter and it appears that Vinayāditya was *yuvarāja* even prior to 672 A. D.

Chōḷa-dēśa, Virājamaṅgala, Daśaṇūka-grāma, Kaḷumayi-vishaya, Karakiñcha-nagara and Pariyaṇḍa-grāma are the geographical names mentioned in the grant. Out of these, Chōḷa-dēśa is obviously the country around Tiruchirapally in Tamil-nadu. The king's victorious camp at Daśaṇūka-grāma and its neighbouring town Virājamaṅgala were located in the Chōḷa-dēśa, according to the grant; so they will have to be searched out in Tamil-nadu. The donated village Pariyaṇḍa can be identified with Paranda, a taluk headquarters in the Osmanabad district of Maharashtra, because it has got phonetical similarity with the inscriptional counterpart and it is very close to the findspot of the present grant. Secondly, the place name Pariyaṇḍa has been mentioned in the records of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, and has been identified with Paranda.[6] Hemādri's Praśasti refers to the same place as Pratyaṇḍaka.[7] Karakiñcha-nagara is probably the present village of Karañja, which is a few miles south of Paranda. The Kaḷumayi - vishaya is probably Kallam, a taluk headquarters in the Osmanabad district, wnich is not very far from Paranda. The present grant thus introduces a new *vishaya* (division) called Kaḷumayi, existing under the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. This division probably comprised the adjoining parts of Sholapur and Osmanabad districts.

The composer of this grant is *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Jayasēna who had also written the Savṇūr[8] and Gadval[9] plates of Vikramāditya I.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 7-10 *Anushṭubh ;* verses 2-5 *Āryā* ; verse 6 *Vasantatilakā*]

FIRST PLATE

1 Svasti [॥*] Jayaty = āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāham kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṁ[*।] dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ

2 vapuḥ [॥1*॥] Śrīmatāṁ Sakalabhuvana - saṁstūyamāna - Mānavya - sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-putrāṇāṁ sapta -

3 lōka - mātṛibhis = sapta - mātṛibhir = abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikēya - parirakshaṇa - prāpta - kalyāṇa-para -

4 ṁparāṇāṁ Bhagavan - Nārāyaṇa - prasāda - samāsādita-varāha-lāñchchhan - ēkshaṇa - kshaṇa-vaśikṛi -

5 t - āśēsha - mahībhṛitāṁ Chalikyānāṁ kulam=ala [ṁkarishṇōr=Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna -]

6 pavitrīkṛita - gātrasya Śrī Pulakēśi - vallabha - mahārājasya prapautraḥ=parākram - ākrā -

7 nta - Vanavāsy=ādi - para - nṛipati - maṇḍala - praṇibaddha - viśuddha-kīrttiḥ Śrī - Kīrttivarmma - pṛithivīvalla -

8 bha - mahārājasy=ātmajas=samara - saṁsakta - sakal - Ōttarāpath - ēśvara - Śri - Harshavarddhana - parājay - ō -

9 palabdha - paramēśvar - āpara-nāmadhēyasya Satyāśraya - Śrī - Pṛithivīvallabha - mahā -

10 rājādhirāja - paramēśvarasya priya - tanayaś=Chitraka -

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

11 ṇṭh - ākhya - pravara - turaṁgamēṇ=aikēn=aiva pratīt - ānēka - samara - mukhē ripu-nṛipati-rudhira -

12 jal - āsvādana - rasanāyamāna - jvalad = amala - niśita - nistriṁśa - dhāray=āvadhṛita - dhara -

13 ṇibhara - bhujaga - bhōga - sadṛiśa - nija - bhuja - vijita - vijigīshur=ātma - kavach - āvamagn - ānēka - pra -

14 hāras = sva - gurō[ḥ*] śriyam = avanipati - tritay - āntaritām = ātmasātkṛitya kṛit=aik=ādhishṭhit - ā -

15 śēsha - rājyabharas=tasmin=rājya - trayē vi[nashṭāni dēva-brahma] - dēyāni dharmma-ya-

16 śō= 'bhivriddhayē sva - mukhēna sthāpitavān [॥] Raṇa - śirasi ripu - narēndrān=diśi diśi jitvā

17 sva - vaṁśajāṁ lakshmīṁ [।*] prāptaḥ paramēśvaratām = Anivārita - Vikramādityaḥ [॥2*॥] Api cha [।*] Mṛidita -

18 Narasiṁha - yaśasā vihita - Mahēndra - pratāpa - vilayēna [।*] nayana - vijit - ēśvarēṇa pra-

19 bhuṇā śrī - Vallabhēna jitaṁ (tam) [॥3*॥] Kṛita - Pallava - āvramarddaṁ dakshiṇa - dig - yuvatim= ātta - Kāñchīkaḥ [।*]

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

20 Yō bhṛiśam= abhiramayann= api sutarāṁ śrī - Vallabhēna jitaṁ (tam) [॥4*॥] Vahati svam= arthavantaṁ Raṇarasika[ḥ*] śrīmad= uru -

21 bala - skandhaḥ [।*] Yō Rājamalla-śabdaṁ vihita - Mahāmalla - kula - nāśaḥ [॥5*॥] Dur= laṁghya - dushkara - vibhēda - viśāla -

22 sālā dur - ggādha - dustara-bṛihat= parikhā - paritā [।*] Agrāhi yēna jayat - Ēśvara-pōta - rājyam kāñch =īva da -

23 kshiṇa - diśaḥ kshitipēna Kāñchī [॥6*॥] sa vikram - ākrānta - sakala - mahī - maṇḍap - ādhirājyō Vikramāditya - Satyā -

24 śraya - śrī - Pṛithivīvallabha - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvaras = sarvvān = ēvam = ājñāpayati [॥*] vi -

25 ditam = astu vō = 'smābhiḥ chatur - navaty = uttara - paṁcha - śatēshu śaka - var-shēshv = atītēshu pravarddhamā -

26 nē vijaya - rājya - saṁvatsarē sapta - daśē varttamānē Chōḷa - [nā]ḍu[ṁ*] pravēśō (viśy = ō)tkaṭa - Virājamaṅgala - pū -

27 rvva - dig - bhāgē = 'vasthita Daśaṇūka - grāmam = adhivasati vijayaskandhāvārē Āshā-ḍha - māsy = uttarā -

28 yana - samāptau [Tai]ttirīyasya Śāṇḍilya - sagōtrasya Śaṁkarasvāminaḥ pautrāya Pāṇḍusvāmi -

29 putrāya Kāḷumayi[10] - vishayē Karakiṁcha - nagarasya(sy=ō)ttara - pārśvē=

THIRD PLATE

30 vasthitaḥ Vishṇu - śarmaṇē śri - Vinayāditya - yuvarāja - vijñāpanayā Pariyaṇḍa nāma grāmō

31 dattaḥ [॥*] Tad = āgāmibhir = asmad = vaṁśyair = anyaiś = cha rājabhir = āyur - aiśvaryy - adīnāṁ vilasitam = achirāṁśu -

32 chaṁchalam = avagachchhadbhir = ā - chandr - ārka[*ṁ] dhar - ārṇṇava - sthiti-sama - kālaṁ yaśaś = chichīshubhis = sva - datti - nirvviśē -

33 shaṁ paripālanīyam = uktañ = cha Bhagavatā vēda - vyāsēna Vyāsēna [॥*] Bahubhir = vvasudhā bhuktā rāja -

34 bhis = Sagar - ādibhirya (bhiḥ¹ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ (lam) [॥7*॥] Svan = dātuṁ Suma -

35 hach = chhakyaṁ duḥkham = anyasya pālanaṁ [।*] dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v = ēti dānāch = chhrēyō= nupālanaṁ(nam) [॥*8॥] Sva -

36 dattāṁ para - dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [।*] shashṛṭhiṁ varsha - sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē

37 krimiḥ [॥9*] Chālukya - vaṁśa - jātasya Pallav - ānvaya - nāśinaḥ [।*] sarvv -ānivā-rit - ājñasya śāsa -

38 naṁ śāsanaṁ dvishāṁ(shām) [॥10*॥] Mahāsāndhivigrahika - śrī - Jayasēnēna likhi-tam = idaṁ śāsanaṁ ॥

Notes :

1. Thosar & Hingmire, *Pratishṭhān*, May-June 1981, pp. 11-13
2. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 115 ff. and plate
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff. and plate
4. G. Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, pts I-VI, p. 225.
5. *Ibid.*
6. H. S. Thosar, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Marathwada*, (Unpublished thesis), p. 148.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 115 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 100 ff.
10. The name of the division appears to be Kuṟumayi [Ed.]

2 MATHURA STONE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BUDHAGUPTA, GUPTA YEAR 161

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal
&
Arvind Srivastava

The epigraph under discussion is engraved on the pedestal of a now missing statue. The pedestal was discovered in the Bank Colony, near Gōvindnagar, on the outskirts of Mathura city, and has very recently been acquired for the Mathura Museum through an antiquity dealer, Sri Shambhoo Mal Saraf of Chowk, Mathura.

But for the damage to lines 1 and 2 caused by the chipping off of a piece of stone, the inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation. The drafting and scribing of the inscription has been done carefully. It is written in the typical northern Brāhmī of the Gupta period. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and the text is throughout in verse. In all, there are five lines, each containing one verse. The end of each half-verse is marked by a punctuation mark, resembling a comma put in a slanting manner, instead of vertically, and the end of a full verse by two slightly curved vertical strokes; only in the case of the third verse, the end of the full verse is, in all probability inadvertently, marked with the symbol used for the end of half verse. Such lapses are met with in other epigraphs as well[1]. The metre in all the verses is *āryā*.

As regards orthography, only a few points are worth mentioning. Guttural nasal (*ṅ*) is substituted for *anusvāra* in *vaṅśa* (line 3); *v* has been doubled when in conjuction with the preceding *r* in *sarvvaṁ* and *sarvvē* in line 5; *anusvāra* has been used instead of the final *m* at the end of verse 5, though at the end of the first half of the same verse the final *m* (shown as of the same shape as the consonant *m* but nearly half of its size and placed in the lower half of the line), and not *anusvāra*, has rightly been used; and *v* is substituted for *p* in *Bhādravadē* in line 3.

The inscription is Buddhist in character, its main purport being the installation of a set of four buddha images for the sake of religious merit (*dharmārtham*). It begins with the auspicious word *siddhaṁ* followed by salutations to the Buddha, who has been referred to as *Daśabalabalin* (possessor of ten powers)[2] in line 1, *Lōkanātha* (lord of the world) in line 2, and *Jina* (conqueror) in line 4. All these are well-known epithets or names of the Buddha.

Pratimā - chatushṭaya is the term used for the images installed. This may either mean a set of four separate images or four images carved on one and the same slab. An observation of the traces of feet on the upper surface of the pedestal and the form of the pedestal itself shows that the latter was not the case.

The names of the donor of the image and his father find mention in the epigraph. The name of the donor's father is clearly Gaṅgabala. As regards the donor's name, the text seems to read *Śaṅkhikēna*[3]. The text would mean - Śaṅkhika who belonged to (the family, (?) of) Rāshṭra'. According to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Śaṅkhika as a name of a person is met with in the Buddhist literature, and this suits well in the context of the present epigraph which is Buddhistic in character[4]. But the same *Dictionary* mentions 'Rāshṭra' also as a personal name. If Rāshṭra be taken as personal name then Śaṅkhika may either be a place or a family name. But it is quite possible that Rāshṭrēṇa is a mistake for *Rāshṭriyēṇa ie* a governor. Śaṅkhika in that case would be the governor of Budhagupta.[5]

The second line (as partly constructed by us) eulogises the act of installing the Buddha image. It says that one who performs such an act would be happy (*sukhī*) in the world of Māra (*Mārasya lōkē*) and possess a pleasing personality (*nayanābhirāmaś= cha*). *Māra-lōka* may be interpreted as the world (or heaven) presided over by Māra[6], but it also means realm of rebirth[7] and the latter suits better in the present context and should be accepted.

In the last line, a pious wish is expressed that the merit accruing out of this pious act of installing the Buddha images may bring complete (*akshayam*) *nirvāṇa* (*naiśrēyasam*) to the parents of the donor as also to all sentient beings of the earth.[8]

The historical importance of the inscription is enhanced by the mention of (i) the then ruling king, and (ii) the date of installation of the set of four images. It says that when the set of images were installed king Budhagupta of the famous family (*prathita-vaṁśa*) was ruling the whole earth (*kṛitsnāṁ praśāsati mahīṁ*). Budhagupta, as will be clear from the discussion of date, below, is to be identified with the homonymous Imperial Gupta ruler, known from inscriptions and coins. The following inscriptions refer to Budhagupta as the reigning king :-

(i) Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription (G. E.) 157.[9]
(ii) Varanasi Pillar Inscription (G. E.) 159.[10]
(iii) Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription (G. E.) 163.[11]
(iv) Eran Stone Pillar Inscription (G. E.) 165.[12]
(v) Shankarpur Copper-plate Inscription (G. E.) 168.[13]
(vi) Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription (date lost).[14]
(vii) The Nalanda Seal Inscription.[15]

Budhagupta's gold[16] and silver[17] coins are also known. Five of his six silver coins bear the date 175 (G. E.=494 A. D.) The reading of the date on the sixth as 180 (G. E.=499 AD) is rather doubtful.[18]

The epithet *prathita* (celebrated) has been used for the Gupta dynasty.[19] It is very appropriate for the dynasty which had a galaxy of celebrated kings like Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta.

The year of the date is referred to in words. The reading *varshē* and *ēka-shashṭhē* is quite clear. The word in between these looks like *gata* but most probably it was meant for *śata*. The letters *ga* and *śa*, with the exception that the latter has a horizontal bar in the middle, have a similar form. Perhaps the scribe forgot to add the horizontal stroke. *Varsha-śatē ēka-shashṭhē* would mean 'in the year one hundred and sixty one.' The era used obviously is Gupta Era and the date in Christian era would be 320+161=480 A.D. Budhagupta ruled at least between G. E. 157 (=476 AD) and G.E. 175 (=494 AD), the two dates known from his Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription and silver coins respectively (see above).[20] The date G. E. 171 (=480 AD) fits in well with the date-bracket known for the king. If, however, the reading *gata*, as it is, is accepted then the date would be 'year 61 expired'. Budhagupta cannot by any stretch of imagination be placed in G.E. 61 when, as the Mathura Stone Pillar Inscription[21] shows, the Imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II was ruling. The date year 61 can only be reconciled with the reign period of Budhagupta if we presume that the practice of omitting hundred has been followed, and for year one hundred and sixty one, only sixty one has been inscribed.

The present inscription also mentions month and day. The text has *Bhādrāvadē.* One is likely to consider *vadē* as standing for *vadi* (the same as *badi*) i. e. dark fortnight. This would mean the date gives the name of the month as Bhādra and of the fortnight as *vadi* (dark fortnight). However, this does not seem to be the case for two reasons. Firstly, *vadi* (*badi*) being an *avyaya* is non-declinable and so cannot be changed into *vadē*. Secondly, in the epigraph, the day is clearly mentioned as 16 (*shōḍaśē*), which cannot be the case if the fortnight is mentioned, as the number of days in a fortnight ranges between one to fifteen only. It seems that the scribe inadvertently wrote *vadē* for *padē*. However, it may also be mentioned that instances of substitution of *va* for *pa* are known. We may cite, as an example, *Vadrāntapa - vishaya* which occurs as part of a legend on a seal discussed by L. D. Barnett, in which case *vadra* has been taken to stand for *padra*.[22] We believe that the epigraph mentions the month *Bhādrapada*, and not the dark fortnight of the month Bhādra.

The epigraphs mentioning Budhagupta as the reigning king come variously from Damodarpur in Bengal, Nalanda in Bihar, Sarnath and Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh and Eran and Shankarpur in Madhya Pradesh. Obviously, all these localities were within his kingdom. A copper-plate inscription of *Mahārāja* Hastin of year G. E. 156 (=475 AD)[23] from Khoh, Satna, District Madya Pradesh, has the expression *Gupta rājyabhuktau*, i.e. 'during the sovereignty of the Guptas'. *Mahārāja* Hastin was a feudatory of Budhagupta, since the date falls within the reign of that Gupta ruler. Further, the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription tells us that one Suraśmichandra administered the area lying between Kālindī (Yamunā) and Narmadā, as a governor of Budhagupta. Thus Budhagupta's kingdom was fairly extensive. Mathurā, where the epigraph under discussion was found, marks the northernmost findspot of Budhagupta's inscriptions. As seen above, from the Eran Pillar Inscription of that ruler we know that

in the Gupta year 165 (=484 A. D.) Suraśmichandra was serving as his governor for the area between Kālindī (Yamunā) and Narmadā. Mathurā, the findspot of the present epigraph, falls within this region. If the suggestion that *Rāshṭreṇa* in the epigraph is a mistake for Rāshṭriyēṇa (governor) be correct, then it is possible that four years earlier i. e., in G. E. 161 (=480) Śaṅkhika administered that region on behalf of Budhagupta. Neither Budhagupta's epigraphs nor coins have been reported from Gujarat-Kathiawar region and, as such, it is difficult to assert whether or not that region also formed part of his kingdom. But, if it did, then it can be said that during Budhagupta's rule, the Gupta empire was almost as extensive as it was during the time of Skandagupta. We do not know if he made any conquest in his reign period, but he certainly should be given the credit for maintaining the extensive empire in tact.[24] He should undoubtedly be ranked amongst the great kings of the Gupta dynasty. In fact, he was the last great king of that celebrated ruling family.

TEXT

1 Siddha[m][25] [I*] [Yō vandya]...................... [ba]ndhana - niruddham[26] Janma - kshaya - matam chakrē[27] Daśa-bala-balinē namas=tasmai ॥ [1*॥]

2 Kārayati yaḥ [pratimām Lō][28]kanāthasya jagati Buddhasya । sa bhavati sukhī Mārasya[29] lōkē nayan-ābhirāmaś=cha ॥ [2*॥]

3 Kṛitsnāṁ praśāsati mahīṁ Budhagupta-rājani prathita-vaṅśē (vaṁśē) । varsha - śata[30] ēka-shashṭhē Bhādravadē[31] shōḍaśē divasē[32] ॥ [3*॥]

4 Pratimā-chatushṭayam=idaṁ dharm=ārthaṁ Śaṅkhikēna rāshṭrēṇa । bhaktyā Jinasya kāritam=adhunā Gaṅgabala-putrēṇa ॥ [4*॥]

5 Atra-kṛitēḥ yat=puṇyaṁ naiśrēyasam=akshayaṁ hi tat=sarvvam । mātā-pitrōś=ch=āsya sarvvēshāñ=ch=āvani-satvānāṁ(nām) ॥ [5॥*]

TRANSLATION

L. 1 Success......................Salutations to one Who preached the doctrine of destroying births (i. e. *nirvāṇa*), Who is powerful by virtue of possessing the ten powers.

L. 2 He who on earth installs an image of the Buddha, the 'Lord of the world', he becomes happy in the next birth and (is born with) a pleasing personality.

L. 3-4 To-day (when) king Budhagupta of the famous dynasty is administering the whole earth, in the year one hundred and sixty-one, in the month of Bhādrapada, on the sixteenth day, a set of four images of Jina (literally the conqueror, i. e. the Buddha) is installed with devotion by Śaṅkhika (of) Rāshṭra (family?), son of Gaṅgabala for the sake of religious (merit).

L. 5 Whatever merit be there in this act, may that be for the complete *nirvāṇa* of his (i. e. donor's) parents and all sentient beings of the earth.

Notes :-

1 See e. g. in the Katra copper-plate charter of Jīvagupta, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pl. facing p. 130.

2 For the enumeration of the *daśabalas*, see *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (10.2.1.). For different enumerations see *Śabdakalpadruma* (s. v.) and *Vāchaspatyam* (s. v.), also Rai S. C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*. This description of Buddha is found in one of the inscriptions discovered in Govindnagar near Mathurā dated in the Gupta year 115 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1976-77, No. B 77) and in the Kaṇhēri plate of the Traikūṭakas, Year 246 (*CII.*, Vol. IV, part I, No. 10, p. 39f. [Ed.]

3 There is no doubt about the reading *Śaṅkhikēna rā*. Of the two letters that follow, the second one is either *ṇa* or *na*. The first one looks like a square (or Brāhmī letter *ba*) with the additional horizontal stroke dividing it vertically into two roughly equal halves and giving it the appearance of *thē*. But in this very epigraph the letter *tha* occurs twice - in *nāthasya* line 2, and *dharmārthaṁ* in line 4. A comparison of the shape with these two shows marked difference ; the one under discussion has almost square outline while the two have oval outline.

4 Not that we identify the two.

5 We owe this suggestion to Shri S. P. Tewari.

6 '.........the later Buddhist theory of races of gods led to the figment of millions of Māras ruled over by a chief Māra (Monier - Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary, S. V. Māra*).

7 Sometimes 'Māra' is applied to the whole of the worldly existence or the realm of rebirth, as opposed to *Nibbāṇa*. *Vide* Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* by T. W. Rhys Davids, *S.V. Māra*).

8 The reading is *sarvvēshāṁ chē(ch = ā) vani-satvānāṁ* meaning for all sentient beings of the earth' [Ed.]

9 Y. R. Gupta in *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp. 124-25.

10 D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 331f.

11 R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, 131 ff.

12 J. F. Fleet, *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff.

13 B. C. Jain, *Jr. Ep. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 62 ff.

14 R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, 137 ff.

15 H. Sastri, *MASI*, No. 66, p. 64.

16 Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 275 ff.

17 Allen, *CCGD*, p. 154; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 278 ff.

18 Altekar, *op. cit*, p. 279.

19 Cf. *Sad = vaṁśa* (good family) for the Later Gupta dynasty in line 1 of the Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasēna (*CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff) and *Viśuddh = ānvaya* ('pure lineage') for Mālada, son of Yaśōvarman's minister in line 5 of the Nalanda Stone Inscription of Yaśōvarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.).

20 If the reading of date as 180 (G.E.) on one of the silver coins is accepted then Budhagupta's rule extended at least upto 499 A.D. For a different view, see, however, Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

21 D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI. 1 ff.

22 L. D. Barnnett in *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 402.

23 *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 93 ff.

24 The evidence of Eran Boar Inscription of the time of king Tōramāṇa shows that Dhānyavishṇu, a younger brother Mātṛivishṇu, administered the region around Eran (District Sagar) under that Hūṇa king. His elder brother Mātṛivishṇu is known to have governed that very region during the reign of king Budhagupta. It is less likely that Tōramāṇa conquered the region during the reign of Budhagupta who was master of an extensive empire. Most probably this feat was achieved by that Hūṇa king after the death of that powerful Gupta king.

25 What is read as *s[i]ddha[m]* may as well be *saddharma*. In that case, it would be part of the first verse. The first part of the first verse has been conjecturally restored by us.

26 The reading of the first part of the verse is doubtful.

27 The reading is tentative. What we have read as *krē* looks like *rthē*.

28 This has been conjecturally restored by us.

29 The letter read by us as *s* looks like *sh* or *ha*. First we thought of reading the text as *mānushya lōkē* (world of men), but a careful observation showed that the middle letter is *rā* and not *nu*.

30 For the discussion on this reading, see above.

31 Read *Bhādrapadē*. See above.

32 There is a slightly curved horizontal mark after *divasē* which normally indicates the end of half verse (and has been so used in this very inscription in the case of other verses), instead of two vertical lines which mark the end of full verse. Though there is space for about two letters after *divasē* in the line, it does not seem that any letter (or letters) were carved after it.

3 A DUPLICATE INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA POLEKESI I AT BADAMI

K. V. Ramesh

All the scholars interested in the dynastic history of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi are only too well aware of the existence of two important inscriptions at Badami in Karnataka, one belonging to the reign of Polekēśi I and dated in 543 A. D. and the other belonging to the reign of the conquering Pallava adversary Narasimhavarman dated in his 13th regnal year and hence assignable to 642–43 A.D. Of these two, the inscription of Polekēśi I, which is engraved at an inaccessible height on a cliff, records the construction, by that king, of a fort at Vātāpi by reinforcing its defences both on top and at the ground level. The inscription of Narasiṁhavarman is a clear evidence of the fact that, in retaliation to Polekēśi II's conquest of the Pallava country, Narasiṁhavarman had invaded the Chalukya domains and had successfully captured their capital Vātāpi. While the cliff inscription of Polekēśi I is in a state of excellent preservation, Narasiṁhavarman's beautifully engraved Pallava Grantha inscription is badly worn out in parts.

Just below this Pallava inscription can be traced a few letters distributed over three badly damaged lines, and engraved in characters typically belonging to Vātāpi Chalukya writing. While publishing the Pallava inscription in Vol. XI, part I of the *South Indian Inscriptions* series it has been stated in a foot-note that the three damaged lines below that inscription are engraved in characters of the 7th century A.D.

Sometime back when I had occasion to visit Badami I utilised the opportunity to examine the Pallava inscription *in situ.* At that time, when I perceived the three damaged lines below the Pallava inscription I was pleasantly surprised to discover that whatever letters had escaped damage in those three lines were exactly in correspondence with certain consecutive letters of the first three lines of the Badami cliff inscription of Polekēśi I. From the attached illustration it can be easily seen that the first line of the damaged Chalukya inscription reads [*Sva*]*sti Śakavarshēshu,* the remaining letters of that line being totally lost. Similarly, the surviving letters of the second line read *śvamēdhādi* and the surviving letters of the 3rd line read *ṇyagarbha.* These three lines thus form parts of the first 3 lines of the cliff inscription which read:

1. *Svasti Śaka-varshēshu chatuś-śatēshu pañcha-shashṭi-yutēshu*
2. *Aśvamēdh-ādi yajñānāṁ yajvā śrauta-vidhānataḥ*
3. *Hiraṇya-garbha-saṁbhūtaś-Chalikyō-Vallabhēśvaraḥ*

The presence at Badami of a duplicate version of Polekēśi I's inscription raises very interesting possibilities. For one thing, the assignment of the damaged duplicate version to the 7th Century A. D. in the *South Indian Inscriptions* volume upholds my repeated assertion that any palaeographical dating of early inscriptions, on

whatever grounds, is subject to a concession on the part of the scholar, proffering such date, to the effect that such dating should always be taken to be plus or minus 100 years if not more.

For another, is it possible that, as a further step of vendetta, the conquering Pallavas had deliberately destroyed this inscription of Polekēśi I and that, after the Pallavas were driven out, the Chalukyas had symbolically retrieved their prestige by engraving the text of the same inscription at an inaccessible height where all the lines thus re-engraved have survived without any damage to this day. If this alternative is the historical truth, then it will mean that, inspite of its express date, viz. Śaka 465 which is equal to 543 A. D., the well preserved inscription, that is now available on the cliff, was engraved afresh some time during or very soon after 642-43 A. D. This will again go to show that, whether an inscription is expressly dated or not, in so far as it is an inscription belonging to a period prior to 7th century A. D., only very limited help can be taken from its palaeographical features in attributing to it any absolute date. If other evidences available in the inscription itself or from other related epigraphs suggest a date later than the one in which the inscription itself is dated we will have to accept such evidence at the expense of our pet theories on palaeographical development.

To sum up the above arguments briefly I could state my points as follows :

1. In case the assignment of the damaged inscription of Polekēśi I to the 7th century A. D. in the *South Indian Inscriptions* volume is wrong, and the inscription actualy belongs to 543 A. D., it clearly highlights the futility of trying to stick to ones guns in the matter of dating early inscriptions solely on palaeographical grounds.
2. In case, as has been suggested by me, the well preserved cliff inscription was engraved after driving out the Pallava conquerors in or after 642-43 A.D., it becomes very clear that an inscription of the middle of the 6th century was got re-engraved almost exactly 100 years later during or immediately after 642-43 A.D.
3. A third interesting alternative is that Polekēśi I, in the flush of his completion of the construction of the fort, which was indeed a great task accomplished by an upcoming ruling house, got an unknown number of the same inscription engraved at Badami, in different places and at different heights and that we have now discovered, by chance, the second copy. If this be the truth, then again, its assignment to the seventh century in the *South Indian Inscriptions* volume takes us back to the same position of such palaeographical datings bogging down to plus or minus hundred years.

4 GLIMPSES OF CHOLA TOWNSHIPS IN SRILANKA

R. Tirumalai

It is a fact of history that the Imperial Chōḷas from the time of Parāntaka I onwards took expeditions to Śrīlaṅka. Although Parāntaka was unsuccessful, Rājarāja I succeeded against Mahinda (about 991 A. D.) and brought the northern portion of Śrīlaṅkā under his sway, and extended the Chōḷa authority and administration into the territory. The Chōḷa imperial conquest was not merely in the nature of a military venture or a political annexation. It was a colonisation. The social and economic features of the mainland were fully brought in and transplanted, thorough and complete in the Chōḷa territory within the island and it became a 'province' in every sense during the effective period of Chōḷa rule from about 991 A. D. to about 1070 A. D.[2] Nowhere is this thorough-going transplantation more fully mirrored than in the character and organisation of the townships. And some of these features left their impress even after the Chōḷa rule was ended by the Siṁhala king, Vijayabāhu and sometimes got grafted to the indigenous social fabric. This note gathers such data from published readily-available inscriptions. It would be rewarding to work out the theme more fully, pursuing the study of the texts of all available epigraphic data. In this context it should help scholarship and research if the entire corpus of Tamil inscriptions in Śrīlaṅkā are collected, carefully edited and annotated and published in one volume. Sri A. Velu Pillai has already, I understand, published the Ceylon Tamil inscriptions in 1972 in a few parts; but the publication could not be had for immediate reference. Indeed the Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions in Burma, Śrīlaṅkā and the Far Eastern countries could be similarly brought together and made available in one conspectus. I am happy to state that the Chief Epigraphist Dr. K. V. Ramesh has welcomed this suggestion and would trust that his efforts in this direction would bear fruit.

The present study is based on the 28 inscriptions first noticed in ARSIE., 1912 (Sl. Nos. 594 to 618) and subsequently published in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol IV and the valuable inscription published and competently commented by Dr. K. Indrapala in his learned article on "An Inscription of the 10th year of Chōḷa Laṅkēśvaradēva from Kantalai".[3]

The province (*maṇḍala*) itself was renamed as Mummuḍi Chōḷa-maṇḍalam. The Chōḷa rulers were fond of renaming territories, rivers,[4] townships and streets (*chēris*) and channels[5] after themselves or after the members of their family. The new capital, Polannaruva was named Jananāthamaṅgalam, after one of the titles of Rājarāja I. Temples for Hindu deities, especially for Śiva were constructed and they were named likewise after the scions of the Chōḷa dynasty. Thus, Vānavaṇmādēvīśvaramuḍaiyār was the deity in Polannaruva[6] and the deity at Kalpe

Kovale was named Uttamachōḷa-Īśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēvar[6] and the temple at Māntōta (Mahatiṭṭha) Rājarājēśvaramuḍaiyār[7].

Even more significant is the evidence available from the Kantalai inscription dated in the reign of Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I (c. 1018-54 A. D.)[8]. Dr. Indrapala rightly brings out the significance of this inscription that "it appears that in Śrīlaṅkā also at least in the Tamil-inhabited areas the local government institutions of the Chōḷa kingdom were transplanted." This inscription was dated in the 10th year of Śaṅkhavarma Chōḷa Laṅkēśvaradēva, whom Dr. Indrapala interprets convincingly as a scion of the Chōḷa Imperial family appointed as viceroy to rule the province in Śrīlaṅkā. This was identical with the mode of appointing the sons of the Chōḷa emperor as Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys in Pāṇḍya-nāḍu.

The territorial division in which the Kantalai temple was located was named Rājarājachōḷa - vaḷanāḍu - Rājavichchhā - dara-vaḷanāḍu. The name Kantalai itself is a corrupt form of the *Sanskrit* word Gaṅgataḷa The township was a *brahmadēya*, that is predominantly inhabited by brāhmaṇas and named as Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The *brahmadēya*, as in the mainland, had a *Sabhai* and the elder-constituents (*Perumakkaḷ*) were convened by the beat of the big drums (*Peruṅguṟi*). They met on a Tuesday, at night, on the asterisk of Āyilyam on a dvādaśi day in Pūrva-paksha, i. e. 12th day before the full moon, in the month of Kumbha (February-March). The damaged inscription refers to a revenue official of the township (*Namm-ūr-Taṇḍukinṟa Mūttangai Kōil maṟṟi*........) and proceeds to record an award or decision (*pariśu*) regarding a wet land (*nīrnilam*) sold or transferred for consideration of cash (*kāśu*) received. The land was 3 *mā* in extent (99 cents) in the 3rd block (*chatukkam*) under the the sluice outlet (*kaṇṇār*) taking off from Vikramachōḷa-vāykkāl.

Kantalai continued to be a *brahmadēya* but was renamed as Vijayarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam when Vijayābhaya regained the freedom of Śrīlaṅkā, and had continued to be so in the reigns of Gajabāhu II and Niśśaṁkamalla. In the latter's time it was known as *chaturvēdibrahmapuri*.[9]

This important evidence can bear out the following inferences : The different types of townships including *brahmadēyas* were founded and named after the scions of the Chōḷa family in Śrīlaṅkā. The township constituents looked after the endowments, and solicitously provided for beneficient land use. They were in-charge of the land, presumably unoccupied, and competent to make and register sales of land together with irrigation rights. Thus they had identical functions and role as the *brahmdēya-sabhās* and *mahāsabhās* in the mainland. It incidentally proves that the embargo on brāhmaṇas crossing the seas weighed but lightly with those who were willing to follow the Chōḷa flag and seek new verdures under the sun away from the mainland.

This last inference is confirmed by another inscription[10] from the Śiva Dēvāle No. 2 at Polannaruva. "This beautiful little Śiva Dēvāle constructed of granite

and limestone, in its architectural form, seems at once to class it with the Hindu fanes of South India erected from the 10th to the 12th centuries." [11]

This inscription is dated in the 3rd year of Adhirājēndra (Circa 1070 A.D.). A lamp service was instituted by one Veḷḷāḷa (agriculturist) Śirāḷan, *alias*........ koṇḍachōḷa-pallavarāyan of Maṅgalappāḍi in Virupēḍu-nāḍu in a *kōṭṭam* (name lost) in Choḷā-maṇḍalam for the shrine of Vānavaṉmādēviśvaram-uḍaiyār in Jana-nāthamaṅgalam (Polannaruva) to be maintained at one *uḷakku* of oil per day, for which he made a deposit to earn interest from the Chitra (Apirl - May) month. This was undertaken by the priests (*Padipāda*[*mūlapaṭṭu*]*ḍai pañchā-chāriya-dēvakaṉmikaḷ*) of the temple, including a brāhmaṇa Gōmaṭam........kra-mavittaṉ........and some Śivabrāhmaṇa........ Tillaināyaka-bhaṭṭaṉ. The inscription also refers to a piper (*uvachchaṉ*) Arayan Kāval .... Rājādhirāja Mudakkarai - nāḍāḻvāṉ, *paṉmāhēśvara-kaṇkāṇi* of the temple and several dancing girls including Nāṟpatteṉ-ṉāyira-māṇikkam. It proceds to conclude that these members of temple-establishment, and after them, their successor (*talaimāṟu*) priests, (*tiruvārādaṉai-paṇṇuvār*), *parichāra-kar* (attendant - service-holders), *paṉmāhēś-vara-kaṇkāṇi - śeyvār* (the superintendent among the priests), *nāṭṭavar* (the land-holding residents of the *nāḍu*), and the dan-cing girls (*dēvaraḍiyār*) were to ensure the service for which 5 *kāśu* were deposited. The lamp was 2 *śāṇ* and 4 fingers in height.

The evidence leads to the following conclusions :

A few brāhmaṇas whose nativity was Gōmaṭam and were competent to recite Vēdas (*kramavittukkaḷ*) in order and some priests especially of the *nāṟpatteṉṉāyiram* group, who seem to have been widely-spread in the Tamil country, the pipers, the dancing girls, and the attendants had all migrated to the conquered territory ; the outfit of the temple establishment was also a fairly fullsome replica of that of the mainland temples. The use of the word *talaimāṟu* in the context of the successor service-holders is interesting. If one does not read too much of significance into this term, it allows for replacements or sub-stitution, a procedure which is not ordi-narily noticiable in the arrangements made in the mainland temples where the res-ponsibility descended on the lineal succe-ssors (*vargattār*) in the male-agnate line. It would be tempting but risky to suggest from the available data that regular turns were taken by interchange as between per-sons from the mainland and those in the island by rotation.

The temple at Polannaruva also had a shrine for Vishṇu *i. e.* Paḷḷikoṇḍār,[12] and another deity Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷar (presumably Vishṇu) was also installed (*eḻundaruḷivittu*)[13] there.

The system of endowing lands tax -free, and assignment of taxes and cesses from the king to the temple was also in vogue. Also a merchant-township (*nagara*) is evidenced by a slab inscription presev-ed in the museum at Colombo. [14] Tāḻi -kumaraṉ, a headman or leader (*kiḻavan*) of Śirukūṟṟanallūr of Vēḷai-nāḍu in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu in Choḷa-maṇḍala set up a temple in Mātōṭṭam *alias* Rājarājapuram in Mummuḍi-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam and named it as Rājarājīśva-ram. The yield from a few items of tolls, and cesses besides land-revenue (*iṟai*) were assigned for defraying the

expenses on *tiruvardhajāmam* worship, and 7 days' festival in connection with Vai-kāśi Viśākham. The land endowed as tax-free *dēvadāna* was to the north of .... (description lost), east of Rājarāja-pperun-deru, the big street, south of Kammāṇachchēri (the quarters of black-smiths) and the eastern boundary is not clear. Within that land, the residential mansion (*māḷigai*) of Kūṟṟankāman, a land-holder (*kuḍi*) of the towship, his house and garden were to be excluded. For reciting Bhāratam, 1 *akkam*, was provided. On the shuttles weaving in the township, 1/8 *akkam* per month was levied and for all transactions in the township 1 *vaṭṭam* from the giver or transferer and 1 *vaṭṭam* from the taker (or 1 *vaṭṭam* each for two parties involved in any marriage alliance), was to be collected; besides tolls from roadways (*pādai iḍangaḷil*). With these yields 6 *nāḷis* of rice per day including 2 *naḷi* of rice for service were to be served and a bachelor-attendant was to get 8 *nāḷi* of paddy per day. There was also a *maṭha* and a head therein.

In the same temple there was another shrine for Tiruvirāmēśvaram-uḍaiyār. A native of Śiṟukuḷattūr ....Dēvan Śandiman serving in the *perunḍanam* (army) of Rājēndra Chōḷa entrusted 2 *kāśu* with the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār and 1 *kāśu* each with the betel-growers (*veṟṟilai vāṇiyar*) and with plantain-growers (*vāḷakkāy-vāṇiyar*).[15] The object of the grant was to provide for Rāmēśvaram - uḍaiya - mahādēvar ceremonially riding on his sacred bull. Śaṅkarappāḍiyār, from this contextual occurrence, would appear to be an occupational group of oil-mongers[16] and this lends support to the particularisation in Prof: Sastri's interpretation.[17] Replica of other specific bodies looking after particular deities or shrines are also noticed. Thus in the 5th year of Śrī Śaṅgapatmarayan in the month of Māṟgali, Śēkkiḷān-śeṭṭi-Śaṅkan deposited 30 *īḻakkāśu* with the *pērūrār* of *kumāragaṇam*. From the interest thereof the latter agreed to make one food offering and one lamp.[17] Another deposit likewise was made by Śēkkiḷān Śennai with the same *pērūrār*.[18]

A construction-piece was the gift of *Iḷamayār* of Kiḷaichchhēri (East quarter) among the Pēriḷamayār, an *anulōma* caste.

Doubtless with the Chōḷa army a number of generals and chieftains had also gone and perhaps stayed back. Aññūṟṟuvaṇ-ambalam,[19] Araṅgaṇ Rāmēśan, a donor who endowed 50 coconut trees for 5 lamps to be lit at *sandhi*,[20] and several *nāḍāḻvans* (chieftains)[21] including Jayamuri - nāḍāḻvāṇ[22] (Mukari - nāḍāḻvāṇ's daughter Karpakam.[23] Tiruppūvaṇadēvaṇ of Mōkanūr, Tillaikkaraśu Tyāgachintā-maṇi-mūvēndavēḷāṇ, Pañchanadivāṇaṇ of Śrīnallūr are other benefactors on record.

The colonists had continued even after Vijayabāhu wrested the independence of Śrīlaṅkā. He had invited and entrusted to the Tiruvēḷaikkārar, a corps of Tamil gallants in service or soldiers hired by him, the Daladaypperumpaḷḷi, the Buddha Tooth Shrine (*Danta-kuṭi*) at Watadage and named the Buddhist shrine after them to be maintained and protected by them. The Tiruvēḷaikkārar had comprised three wings - including their ancestors - Vaḷañjiyar, the Nagarattār who work in close collaboration with them. Each constistuent was given 1 *vēli* of land per

head. They were to protect the Buddhist shrine, their endowed townships, the attendants and service-holders, the treasury, and those who sought refuge therein. Even at the risk of their sustaining injury or harm they would not swerve from the duty to protect the shrine. The signatories (*Tiruvēḷaikkārar*) included Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai śirudanam, Piḷḷaigaḷtanam, Vaḍukar, Malayāḷar, Parivārakkoṇḍan and Palakalan.[24] Tiruveḷaikkārar Adigaraṇa - Śāraṇan, belonging to one of the three wings, also had made an individual endowment for charity.[25]

It will be interesting to recall that the Chōḷa garrisons (Mūṉṟukai - Mahāsenayar) were entrusted likewise with the protection of temples at Tiruvālīśvaram[26] and at Pattamaḍai.[27] In an inscription at Anurādhapura the Tamils of four *nāḍus* figure as the donees and guardians of a Buddhist-vihāra.[28]

Indeed, the Tamil bard with his characteristic erotic undertones, was not slow to follow, and he was near at hand to praise the patron-ruler. One such verse has survived :[29]

TEXT

1 Sētu
2 Kaṅgaṇam veṟkaṇṇ-iṇaiyār kāṭṭiṇār
3 Kāmarvaḷaip - paṅgayakkaimēṟ tiladam pārittār
4 poṅgoliniṟ śiṅgainagar-āriyaṇai-chchēra-
5 v-aṇurēśar taṅgaḷ maḍamādar tām [॥*]

The Veḷḷaivilvattu Kōnēśvarar temple at Maṇṇaṇkarai (Tirukōṇamalai) was one of the shrines celebrated by Śaiva-nāyanmār, and held to be a sacred Śiva-sthala.

The data presented would be enough to warrant that the social and economic structure and fabric of the mainland found many of its faithful reproductions in the island. These were a significant feature of the Chōḷa colonisation of Śrīlaṅkā, and even after Śrīlaṅkā ceased to be a part of the Choḷa empire, their vestiges had lingered.

Notes :

1 *Colas.*, Vol I, p. 205.
2 Ibid., p. 303.
3 *Senart Paranavitana commemoration Volume.*, Vol. VII, pp. 81-97, 1978.
4 See the author's *Rājēndra Viṇṇagar*, pp. 1-3.
5 Vikrama-Chōḷa-*Vāykkāl* *See op. cit.*, K. Indrapala, *Senart Paranavitana commemoration volume, SII*, Vol V, No. 1388.
6 ARSIE., 1912, No. 615.
7 *SII.*, Vol IV, No. 1412.
8 Dr. K. Indrapala, *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume.*
9 *Op. cit., ibid.*

10 *S.I.I.*, Vol IV, No. 1388.
11 *A.S.C.*, 1906, pp. 17
12 *S.I.I.*, Vol IV, No. 1390.
13 Ibid., 1391
14 *S.I.I*, Vol IV, No. 1412, see also No. 1396.
15 *Ibid.*, No. 1414
16 *Colas*, Vol II, 272, f.n. See also *A.R.I.E.*, 1964-65 Nos B 300-309.
17 S.I,I., Vol IV, No. 1403
18 Ibid., No. 1404
19 Ibid., No. 1415
20 Ibid., No. 1414
21 Ibid., No. 1410
22 Ibid., No. 1408
23 Ibid., No. 1393, 'C'
24 Ibid., No. 1396
25 Ibid., No. 1398
26 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1905, B 120
27 Ibid., 1916, B 142
28 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1405
29 Ibid., No. 1413

5 SUSILPIN AMRITA

G. Bhattacharya

In the medieval period from 800 to 1200 A. D. a particular style developed in the art of Bihar–Bengal, which is generally described as the Pāla-Sēna style of art. On the propriety of this nomenclature we don't intend to say anything in this article, although we know it is an important point. This point will be discussed by us somewhere else.

Most of the art-historians, who write on the medieval art of Bihar–Bengal follow the account of the 17th century Buddhist pseudo-historian Lāmā Tārānātha according to whom the art-style of the medieval period of Eastern India was invented by two famous artists, Dhīmān and his son Biṭpālo (?). Unfortunately, there is no other document to support Tārānātha's statement. To us these two names appear to be like a fiction. Out of the thousands of sculptures, both stone and metal, of this period, not a single piece contains the name of the sculptor, either as Dhīmān or Biṭpālo (?). Those who have studied carefully the development of this art-style will approve that the Eastern Indian style of the medieval period was not introduced by a single sculptor or two of them at a particular period. There was a gradual process through a long period. The Bihar medium of the later Gupta period (7th–8th century A. D.) was taken up by the local artists to develop into a special style to be called Bihar–Bengal style.

Fortunately we find mention of some of the artists of this period, who were responsible either for engraving an epigraph or executing a sculpture. The proudest of them, no doubt, was Śūlapāṇi, who was the royal artist at the court of the Sēna king Vijayasēna. In the Deopāḍā inscription[1] of the Sēna king, who dedicated a temple to the god Pradyumnēśvara (a name given to a Harihara image), Śūlapāṇi was responsible for the execution of the temple. Śūlapāṇi is described as the *crest-jewel of the guild of artists of Varēndra* or North Bengal (*varēndra-śilpi-gōshṭhī-chūḍāmaṇi*). He was also a royal officer (*rāṇaka*) of the king. The inscription records not only the name of Śūlapāṇi but also the names of his father, grandfather and the great-grandfather. Perhaps all of them were sculptors or architects. If Śūlapāṇi were a contemporary of Vijayasēna then surely his ancestors were contemporaries of the Pāla rulers and did serve them as artists, in North Bengal, because we know that North Bengal was taken away by Vijayasēna from the Pāla ruler Madanapāla in about 1161 A. D.

There is no other record available where a prominet artist of Bihar–Bengal is mentioned together with his genealogy.

But in the gallery of the British Museum, London, Indian Section, there is an image of the Sun-god on the pedestal of which there is an inscription

recording the name of the sculptor. The figure is from Bengal. Ramaprasad Chanda, who prepared the catalogue of the medieval sculptures from India in the British Museum commented, "The other image of Sūrya bears on the base above the horses this inscription in very corrupt Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters of the tenth century A. D." Chanda's reading and translation of the text together with his comment, are like this :

1 Oṁ[2] [1*] Indranīlamaṇi-śishyaḥ śilāya buddhiśālinā

2 ghaṭitāya kṛitajñēna Amṛitēna suśi-[l]pinā

(This image) has been carved in stone by the wise, grateful, and good artist Amṛita, pupil of Indranīlamaṇi.

"Here we have the name of two Gauḍian sculptors, Amṛita, and his teacher, Indranīlamaṇi. In order to determine how far the claim of Amṛita as a good artist (suśilpin) is justified, we should consider two halves of this image, the upper half and the lower half, separately."[3] etc.

Unfortunately Chanda could not read the very interesting part of the record correctly. Amṛita does not refer to his *guru*. What Chanda read as *śishyaḥ* is actually *snigdha* and the whole expression is *indranīlamaṇi-snigdha-śilāyām*. *Indranīlamaṇi* is *sapphire*, a precious stone of blue colour. Here the bluish stone of which the image is made and which is generally known as *Rājmahal slate*, is compared to the smooth and bluish *Indranīlamaṇi*. The term occurs, also in comparison to the stone, in the Bhāturiyā stone inscription of Rājyapāla.[4] The text of the verse in line 20 runs like this:

Indranīla-maṇi-snigdhē śilā-paṭṭē=[1]tinirmalē ।
praśastir=iyaṁ utkīrṇā Śrīnidhānēna śilpinā ॥

'This eulogistic composition (was) engraved by the artist Śrīnidhāna on the very clean stone slab, smooth (like) the sapphire or *Indranīlamaṇi*'. Here we have also another artist of the Pāla period from North Bengal viz., Śrīnidhāna.

In October, 1980 I had the opprotunity to visit Dacca, capital of Bangladesh. There a young scholar showed me the photo of a damaged Pāla Vishṇu image inscribed on the pedestal. The image was found in the village called Kalāyanagar in the Bogra District of North Bangladesh (ancient *Varēndra*). The young gentleman asked me to read the one line inscription on the pedestal of the image. I was surprised to see that the text of this inscription is exactly the same (ignoring a few, minor changes) as that of the inscription on the pedestal of the Sun-god of the British Museum. The text of the Vishṇu image inscription runs like this:

1 Siddham[5] [1*] indranīlamaṇi-snigdha-śilāyām buddhiśālinā

2 ghaṭitō=[1]yaṁ kṛitajñēna Amṛitēna suśilpinā

We call the script of both the records as *Gauḍīya* and not *Nāgarī* as Chanda has said and date them in the 11th century A. D. instead of the 10th century.

It is really gratifying to know from both the records that during the Pāla period a notable artist *Amṛita* had his atelier in *Varēndra* or more precisely in the Rajshahi-Bogra region. Unfortunately we don't know actually how many sculptures were made by *Amṛita* and we don't have any other copy of this record engraved on the pedestal of an image. But from a careful stylistic study of the two figures we will surely be able to group several sculptures as products of the master-artist *Amṛita*.

Notes :-

1 Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 35 ff.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*. London, 1936, p. 66 and Pl. XX.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 150 ff. and Plate.

5 Expressed by a Symbol.

6 SOME ASPECTS OF BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS

I. K. Sarma

Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscriptions have earned a great place in Indian Epigraphical studies, thanks primarily to Alexander Rea (1892) and G. Bühler (1894). It was Rea who retrieved them from the despoiled *stūpa*. I propose to deal in this paper with certain new features noticed by me during a recent study of these stone caskets, the inscriptions and the reliquaries within them. I am thankful to S/S. Harinarayana and Srinivasadesikan, Director and Curator respectively of the Government Museum, Madras, for affording me all the facilities to study and photograph these caskets now preserved in their Museum.

There are, in all, six stones, massive, roughly worked on the exteriors which belong to three caskets. Each casket comprises a lower block having a central groove, deeply cut with a raised rim on top to receive the lid of the upper block of slightly bigger dimension. The inner face of the container as well as the lid were smoothly finished, the inscriptions being mostly engraved around the ridged socket of the lower stone and correspondingly found on the lid part of the upper stone. It is at once clear from the letters and highly polished surface thereupon, that as in the case of Aśōkan edicts, the rock face, after engraving the letters (text), was subjected to the typical 'Mauryan Polish'. This fact has not been noticed by the earlier writers. In fact Rea merely described them as black stone slabs. The stones were roughly shaped out of granite blocks of medium to coarse variety, dull grey or smoky in colour. A close comparison can be made with the inscribed and polished granite uprights from the earliest levels at the Amarāvatī mahāchaitya.[1] It is clear therefore that the earliest inscribed, sculptural activity was of the Mauryan period, as revealed both at Amarāvatī and now at Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the stone medium was either of granite as in the present examples or a local variety of sandstone for the pillar edict as at Amarāvatī. It may be noted that the Aśōkan edicts (MRE) at Rājulamaṇḍagiri, Eṛṛaguḍi and the recently discovered ones from Niṭṭūr and Uḍegoḷam in Bellary District were engraved on granite boulder faces which were given a neat polished finish, the polish serving as a protective to the extremities of weather.

Although the top lids of the caskets and perhaps even the contents within the grooves seem to have been partly disturbed during the earlier operations, there appears to be no dislocation of the lower bases of the casket. They were found imbedded into the brick of the *stūpa's* central rim. Their placement at the lower levels edging towards the inner central hollow might have been intended to serve as butresses to the central shaft. There need be no uncertainty on the contemporaneity of all the interned objects *vis-a-vis* the foundation of the *stūpa*. However, Rea's casket no. 3

is the earliest in the sequence. This was found at a depth of 5.50 metres below surface on the east side of the central shaft of the *stūpa*; similarly casket no. 2 was found at the north side at 5.18 metres B. S. and the topmost casket no. 1 was found at a depth of 4.28 metres B. S. at the corresponding south side. The inscription on the lower container of the casket no. 3 runs anti-clockwise and ends with the words *Kubirako rāja aṁki*. Significantly, among the various precious relics is a gold leaf-foil depicting a bent two-armed figure, perhaps of the King Kubiraka himself, corroborating the above inscriptional statement. This casket was then caused to be set up in memory of the king who was also a Buddhist.

The mortal remains of Buddha himself (*Budha-Sarirānaṁ-nikhetu*) were said to have been enshrined in the lower receptacle of the casket no. 1 which contained among several precious objects, twenty four silver coins, arranged in the shape of a four-armed *svastikā* below the crystal phial and fixed at the bottom by oxidation. The coins are small in size (like the tiny *kāśus* of copper) and are flat circular pieces. The reverse is plain but the obverse has *śrīpāda*, *triśūla*, lotus flower and other illegible punched symbols. These unique tiny coins with the group symbols on them, clearly indicate a Mauryan date. Another noteworthy find from this very casket is an inscribed horizontal crystal amulet which was jointly gifted by the women's guild of Nandapura and the *Śrāmaneyas* of *Suvaṇamāha*. The letters on this hexagonal crystal object are closer to the Mauryan examples, and free from erroneous and extraneous modes of writing noticed in the stone casket records.

Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket records reveal some other significant features of fundamental value. Most uniformly seen is the characteristic attempt of marking the inherent *a* in the consonants. For example, *ka*, *ra*, *ma* are indicated with an additional horizontal stroke to the right top of the letter, which elsewhere stands for *dīrgha kā*, *rā*, *mā*. The long *ā* is marked by an additional vertical droop to the above horizontal line. As a remarkable legacy of this Bhaṭṭiprōlu writing, one can see this vowel notation continued in Telugu script. Every word must end in a vowel and Telugu is, therefore, rightly regarded as *ajanta bhāsha*. The *dīrgha* vowel over the consonants is similarly written by giving a vertical hook to the horizontal line-head of the letter *kā*, *nā*, *tā*, and so on. This inherent vowelled consonant and elongation has given Telugu an exceedingly mellifluous character and in course of time it has become the most musical among the Drāvidian languages. In other respects the notation of the medial vowels agrees very well with the Aśōkan inscriptions. It is of great importance that these very letters on the crystal reliquary do not possess the above additional strokes, thus confirming the Mauryan affinities and origin of this object.

Bühler long after said that Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions "have arisen in Aśōka's times or even earlier" and remarked that "during 3rd century B. C., several well marked varieties of the southern Maurya alphabet existed."

Analytical study of the inscriptions shows that the reversed letters (*da*, *dha*, *ha*) and topsy-turvy letters (*ma*) written

in an anti-clockwise manner as on the lower container of casket no. 3, were largely due to the defects of the engraver not uncommon in Aśōkan edicts. The scribes of Aśōka like Chāpaḍa[2] hailed from North-west. The edicts found in Karnataka and nearby Kurnool (Yeṟṟaguḍi and Rājulamaṇḍagiri) were caused by such scribes who were accustomed for Kharōshṭhī writing. Since the lower as well as upper lid parts of the stone casket are heavy and of granite, quarried locally, the inscriptions on them were caused to be engraved at the site by such engravers who belong to a different land, whereas the crystal reliquary which is of precious stone and of miniature size, on which are engraved the short inscriptions as well as the objects were caused to be engraved in the original place and brought to the site during the consecration.

Taking into account all the above mentioned factors one can find that Mauryan craftsmanship is more explicit on the Bhaṭṭiprōlu caskets and reliquaries than anywhere else. While at the *mahāchaitya* of Dhānyakaṭaka, excavations have confirmed a settlement of Buddhist monks prior to the patronage of Aśōka, (pre-granite rail, pillar edict phase), Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa* came to existence due to the effective proselytising activity of Aśōka's *dhamma* in South East India.

Notes :-

1 See Above Vol. I, pp. 60 ff.

2 Amongst the Aśokan inscriptions, only in Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭinga - Rāmēśvara minor rock edicts, the name of the scribe viz. Chapaḍa is mentioned.

7 MORE ON THE RAJGHAT SHELL CHARACTER SEAL

Richard Salomon

In a previous paper published in this journal,[1] I described a seal found at Rajghat (Varanasi) bearing a beautifully carved inscription in highly ornate "shell characters" or *śaṅkhalipi.* In that paper, I proposed a tentative reading for the inscription of *suchitrarasabhājī.* However, at the time of writing the article, I had not seen the actual piece; the description was based on a photograph of the seal and its plaster impression furnished by the Archaeological Survey of India. Since that time, I have had the opportunity, through the good offices of Dr. T. K. Biswas of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Varanasi) to examine the seal itself.[2] This direct examination revealed important further information about the seal, most notably the presence of another inscription in Brāhmī characters on the reverse side, as described below.

The seal is on a perfectly round disk of grey stone about 2" in diameter and 1/2" thick. The obverse bears the aforementioned shell character inscription in 7 characters (or possibly 6; see the discussion below). The shell characters themselves are only about 1/4" in height, but the ornate flourishes and other decorative elements (presumably representing extended vowel or other diacritic marks) reach over the entire face of the seal (figs. 1 a).

The reverse side (fig. 1 b), which I had not seen when the first paper was written, is divided in half horizontally by two roughly drawn parallel lines. Above the lines, near the upper edge of the seal, are three parallel arcs (described in the Kala Bhavan's records as a *tripuṇḍra* symbol), and some other stray marks. The lower part of the seal bears a 2-line Brāhmī inscription in letters 1/4" to 3/8" high, reading:

(1) avimuktē[śva]rabha-
(2) ṭārakaḥ

(The corrected spelling of the name would be *avimukteśvara-bhaṭṭārakaḥ.*) The inscription is attributed in the Kala Bhavan's records to the 7th century A. D., but I would be inclined to date it to the 6th century; note, for example, the relatively old forms of *va* and *śa.*

Other seals and sealings bearing the legend *avimuktēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*, and similar legends such as *avimukta*, *avimuktēśa*, and *avimuktēśvara*[*sya*], have been found in considerable numbers at Rajghat; several of them are described by V. S. Pathak in "Religious Sealings from Rajghat,"[3] and by Kiran Kumar Thaplyal.[4] These seals range in date from about the 5th to 10th centuries A.D. (Thaplyal, p. 140). Unlike the present specimen, the seals described by Pathak and Thaplyal have the figure of a bull (Nandī), and sometimes also a *triśūla* above the legend. They are considered to be temple seals and are attributed to the Śaiva shrine of Avimukta at Varanasi.

Obviously, the most important question about this seal is the relationship between

the Brāhmī and shell character inscriptions on it. It is tempting to try to show that they constitute a biscript, i. e. that they contain the same text written in two different scripts ; this of course would provide a vital clue for the decipherment of the problematic shell character script. On circumstantial grounds, this is not impossible ; the arrangement of the inscriptions on opposite sides of the same seal certainly might be taken to suggest such a possibility, and the approximate date of the Brāhmī inscription (6th century A. D.) corresponds to the period when the shell script was probably most widely current.[5] However, it must be pointed out that there are several other factors which seem to weigh against this being a true biscript. Most importantly, there is the discrepancy between the number of characters in the two inscriptions : the Brāhmī has 10 *aksharas*, while the *śaṅkhalipi* has only 7, or 6 if the vartical line with looped tail at the middle of the line is taken as an appendage to the third character, rather than as a separate *akshara*. of course, it is possible to suppose that the *śaṅkhalipi* might represent an abbreviated form of the name given in Brāhmī ; for instance *avimuktēśvara*, if the inscription is taken as having only 6 characters. But even making such an assumption, serious problems remain. First of all, it is unlikely that the first character, which has a distinct subscript, could represent the vowel *a*.[6] Likewise, the fourth *akshara* is a simple character without any sub- or superscript, and thus could hardly be construed as *ktē*. The next character, which would have to be *śva* according to the posited reading, has a superscript diacritic which suggests the vowel *ā* rather than *a*, and lacks any subscript which could correspond to *v*.

Other attempts along the same lines of interpreting the shell inscription as a partial repetition of the Brāhmī text seem to lead to similar problems. Thus, for eaxmple, taking the shell inscription as having 7, rather than 6 characters (as in fact is probably the case), we can try to read it as *avimuktēśvarasya*. But this also proves to be unsatisfactory, for reasons similar to those given above ; for instance, what is now being taken as the fourth letter (the looped vertical at the center) certainly cannot be *ktē*. Neither could the last ***akshara***, which has a superscript flourish but no subscript, be said to represent ***sya***.

Various other attempts at reconciling in some way the two inscriptions on the seal have all produced equally unsatisfactory results. In view of these problems, we must turn (albeit reluctantly) to the other alternative, i. e. that they contain two entirely different names. It should be noted, first of all, that such a situation is not without parallel ; for example, a "double copper seal" was found, also at Rajghat, with the legend ***pushya-chandrasya*** on one side and ***haravarmasya*** on the other.[7] Moreover, the very different style of the two legends on our seal may be taken to suggest that they do not belong together ; for while the *śaṅkhalipi* is engraved with great care and skill, the Brāhmī legend is quite rough and informal. Thus we may have a case here of, so to speak, a palimpsest seal, with a previously extant seal

having been re-inscribed with another name on the other side (though it is not possible to be sure which inscription was the earlier one). Or it may be that the double seal was used simultaneously for two purposes,[8] or by two different individuals, as has been propossed in the case of the double copper seal mentioned above.[9]

This is not to suggest, however, that the possibility of the seal being a biscript is entirely ruled out; but it must be admitted that at least so far all attempts to establish it as such have failed. It is still possible that further discoveries about, or even a radical reinterpretation of the shell script might reveal a connection between the two inscriptions. But in the meantime it seems that the Rajghat seal has failed to provide the hoped-for Rosetta stone for *śaṅkhalipi*.[10] The tentative reading offered in my first paper is therefore provisionally retained, as it does not seem to be possible to establish a direct connection between the two inscriptions on the seal.

Notes :-

1 "A Shell Character Inscription on a Seal from Rajghat (Varanasi)," *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India,* Vol., VII (1980), pp. 6-7.

2 No. 434 (accession no. 6302) of the Kala Bhavan's seal collection.

3 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XIX. 2 (1957) pp. 168-79, pl. II, 10-4

4 *Studies in Ancient Indian seals,* pp. 140-42 and pl. XV 4.

5 See Richard Salomon, *Shell Inscriptions* (Calcutta University, 1980), pp. 36-41.

6 This and the following analyses of the shell characters take it for granted that the script is Brāhmī-derived and operates more or less according to the same general graphic principles as the parent script. Cf. *Shell Inscriptions,* Postscript, p. 67.

7 See Thaplyal, op. cit., p. 17, and B. Ch. Chhabra, "Rajghat Double Seal," *Journal of Indian History* XLVI (1968), pp. 35-7.

8 Dr. D. C. Sircar has suggested (in conversation) the possibility, for instance, that one legend might represent the owner's name and the other that of his patron deity.

9 B. Ch. Chhabra, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

10 Several other cases of what seemed to be possible shell character-Brāhmī biscripts have been found; but all of these cases presented similar difficulties in reconciling the two texts to those described here. Compare, for example, the well-known case of the Ci-Aruton (Java) shell inscription, discussed in *Shell Inscriptions,* pp. 59-60. Further examples of seeming biscripts are described in Appendix A to my paper on 'Progress Toward Decipherment of the Shell Inscriptions' see *The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Vol. XLV (forthcoming).

8. SELF IMMOLATION IN CHOLA TIMES AND A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MALLAL

R. Tirumalai

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A poetic supplication to Mahāśakti of Subrahmanya Bharati commences as follows :-

> "Kill my desire - or else
> Stop my breath
> Fell my body - or else
> Mop-up the Thought in it."[1]

This, perhaps, is the latest lingering trace of an ancient practice of offering one's body or life in fulfilment of a vow or on behalf of another to save the latter's life. An early sculptural representation of a hero offering his own head has survived in the so called 'Draupadi-ratha'. The "ratha", in reality, is a Durga Shrine. The Devi is shown as Paradēvatā. By the side of her feet are shown two warrior-devotees on either side. The warrior to her right is kneeling before her, majestically holding his own head by the locks with the left arm and severing the neck with a sword with a dour, but serene determination, perhaps to fulfil his vow.[2]

There is clear epigraphic evidence for this practice of self-sacrifice or self-immolation in the Chōḷa times.

Marudāḍu, a township in the *nāḍu* of the same name in Veṇkuṉṟakōṭṭam was threatened with destruction sometime about the 8th year of Rājarāja I (993 A.D.). An individual of Māganūr-Pūtturai by name Kalipperumān fell in order to save the village from destruction (*aḻiyāmayaṉṟu*). The *ūrār* of Marudāḍu gratefully instituted a lamp service in his memory to god Peruntirukkōil-Āḻvār in Purandarēśvara Temple in the village and gifted land for its maintenance.[3]

The second instance is from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the 30th year of Rājēndra Chōḷa I (1042. A. D.). This case has to be distinguished. In Marudāḍu an individual gave up his life to protect the community or the township from destruction. In Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, a high-placed army officer gave up his life so that his master's distress may be relieved. Kūttan Gaṇavadi was the military officer of Gangaikoṇḍān *alias* Uttamachōḷa-Mārāyan who was also styled as Śirudanam-Perundanam -Mārayān. Kūttan Gaṇavadi in the 29th year of Rājēndra Chōḷa I (1041 A. D.) had deposited an amount in *Rājarājaṉ Kāśu* in cash with Nagarattār of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, who agreed to measure out paddy in lieu of interest accruing on the deposit for feeding a brāhmaṇa.[4] Perhaps, this was done with a wish to get relief from some distress or affliction that he was in at the time.

In the very next year 1042 (A. D.) Gaṇavadi Iḍumban *alias* Tannaimunivar Peṇḍirgaṇḍa Viśaiyarāyan stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of his master, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Chōḷan *alias* Uttamachōḷa-mārāyan of Tiruvārūr in Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Kshatriya-Śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-nāḍu. The grateful master, Uttamachōḷamārāyan instituted a lamp service in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple and gifted 90 sheep for its maintenance.[5]

An inscription was noticed by the author during his field settlement inspection in Survey No. 235. in Maḷḷal Village, Sivagaṅga Taluk, Ramanathapuram District. In that survey field a temple for Nāchchiyārammaṉ, the Śakti goddess, is also located. It runs thus:

TEXT[6]

1 Svasti[!*] Śrī - Kolōttu -
2 ṅgaśōḷa - dēvarkku yā -
3 ṇḍu 11 āvadu Vīmaṉ
4 Udāraṉ - āna Kolōt -
5 tuṅgaśōḷa - mūvaraiya -
6 ṉukku viyādi tōṟṟa
7 tūṅgutalai nōndu
8 tūṅgutalai kuḍutta
Ambalakkūttaṉuk -
10 ku śāttikuḍutta nilam -
11 āvadu kuḻi cheyyu[m*]
12 taṉ mēladuvum chatti [vi]
13 yakkalum idaṉ vaḍakk -
14 āṉa taḍipalavum māvukku
15 teṟkkil taḍi mūṉṟu -
16 m Kaḷḷiviḷāgam - uḍaiyā -
17 [ḷu]kku kuḍutta nilam mā -
18 ṟṟuvāṉ taṅgaḷ - ammaikku
19 tāṉē miṇāḷaṉ ॥

The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Kulōttuṅga - chōḷa (1081 A. D. or 1189 A. D.) depending on whether it is to be ascribed to Kulōttuṅga I or III. It is unlikely that the regnal year could pertain to Kulōttuṅga II. It is known that Kulōttuṅga I and Kulōttuṅga III were involved in about the 11th year of their respective reigns in wars with the Pāṇḍyas. "The most sustained efforts of Kulōttuṅga I resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries between the 7th and 11th years of his reign."[7] Indeed, the *Kulōttuṅga Chōḷan Piḷḷai Tamiḻ* mentions a battle near Semponmāri in Ramanathapuram District.[8]

Kulōttunga III also had taken out an expedition against Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the contestant to the Pāṇḍyan crown who tried to retrieve his position, when Vikrama-Pāṇḍya had been installed as king in Madurai after an initial chōḷa expedition. In this second campaign Vīra Pāṇḍya's attempt was crushed on the battlefield at Neṭṭūr in about 1189 A. D.[9]

Vīman Udāran *alias* Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa Mūvarayan could be one of the generals or chieftains who participated in either of the campaigns. The new Maḷḷal inscription states that he fell a victim to a disease and as a result he had a chronic headache affecting (him even in) his sleep. Or alternatively he could not sleep as a result. In order to relieve him of this malady, Ambalakūttan had severed his head and died. A land grant was made in his memory. The double entendre on "Tūngutalai" is noteworthy.

A "similar instance has also been noticed in Tirupūrāntakam in Kurnool District in an inscription paleographically assigned to the 13th century." The glorious Sōmaśivagurudēva offered to Tripurādēvi his (own) head so that good may befall to the hero named Allaḍḍa Vīramalla. Another label in the same temple reads "This is the head to the goddess."[10]

In Chengam herostones, a hero was stated to have cut off his own head and

offered it to Koṟṟavai (Śakti) and a herostone was raised to commemorate it.[11]

Two instances of the Āṇḍārs (worshippers) immolating themselves were also noticed, one at Anbil[12] and the other at Tiruppādirippuliyūr.[13] The former was in 1250 A. D., and the latter was in the 3rd year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Both were protests against the township, the *Mahāsabhaiyār's* action. In Anbil the Mahāsabhā claimed unlawfully land-dues from the temples for a land which was resumed from the deity's holdings (Tirunāmattukkāṇi). To safeguard the temple's interest one Paḷudai Āṇḍār died. The township gave up the demand made on the temple and accepted the temple's obligations as entered in the accounts of the temple. They also deified the deceased Āṇḍār and erected his image and provided for services in the temple.

In Tiruppādirippuliyūr the dispute was over 2 *mā* of land (66 cents). The Brahmadēya holders claimed it as theirs while the Temple claimed it as theirs. To safeguard the temple's interests one of the Māhēśvaras fell into the fire. The King, hearing this, enquired into the case through his chiefs, and upheld the Temple's claims. The disputants also endorsed the Temple's title.

A later instance some Vairāgīs (austere mendicants) falling from the top of the Eastern Tower of Sundarēśvarar Temple at Madurai to protest against the soldiers of the East India Company entering the temple precincts is also recorded. To commemorate this act of self-sacrifice a grant of land as "blood-compensation" '*Udirappaṭṭi*' was made in Anuppānaḍi, a neighbouring village in Madurai-Tiruppuvanam Road. The inscription, to the author's recollection, is recorded on the gateway of the Sundarēśvara temple at Madurai.

This practice of self-immolation has attracted the notice of foreign travellers to South India like Marco Polo and Friar Odoric. Their observations are extracted below :-

Marco Polo (*circa* 1293 A.D.)

" " They have in this country the custom which I am going to relate. When a man is doomed to die for any crime, he may declare that he will put himself to death in honour of such or such an idol ; and the government then grants him permission to do so. His kinsfolk and friends then set him upon a cart, and provide him with twelve knives, and proceed to conduct him all about the city, proclaiming aloud :

"This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of (such an idol)." And when they come to the place of execution he takes a knife and sticks it through his arm, and cries : "I slay myself for the love of (such a god)"! Then he takes another knife and sticks it through his other arm, and takes a third knife and runs it into his belly, and so on until he kills himself outright. And when he is dead his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with a joyful celebration. Many of the women also, when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all." "[14]

Friar Odoric (*Circa* 1321-2 A. D.) has observed in his "Cathay and the Way Thither" :-

" " And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God?" And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God", he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And may other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written. " "[15]

The practice of undergoing physical torture by suspending oneself by iron hooks thrust through flesh, hanging from a beam had persisted in the old Mysore State till late 19th century. Dr. Hultzsch, the pioneer Epigraphist has furnished the following account of his observation at Chîtaldrug :—

"A curious feature of this part of Mysore are high stone-porches (*uyyāle-kambha*), which are found near the temples and from which iron chains are suspended. At the swinging-festival of each particular goddess, a board is attached to the chains, and on this an image of the goddess is placed and swung. Near the swinging-porch in front of the Ekanāthēśvari temple on the Chitaldurg rock there is a raised platform (siḍi-paṭṭi) with a vertical pole (malē-kambha) in the centre. On this there used to turn a horizontal beam (siḍi-mara) to which a man or woman, who had made a vow to this effect, was attached by a rope and iron hooks, with his face downwards. The beam was then turned round by the by-standers. The back of the devotee was held by the iron hooks thrust through the flesh. After he had been swung round five or seven or more times according to his vow, they took him down and rubbed his back with margosa leaves to heal the wounds. This practice, which is said to be described in a Kanarese work called *Rēṇukāpurāṇa*, has been stopped by the Mysore Government. Mr. F. Fawcett, Superintendent of Police, has found relics of this custom in the Ganjam district."[16]

The following comments can be made from the instances noticed from Chōḷa inscriptions :—

i) The evidence for this practice comes from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra.

(ii) The practice had been prevalent for long from about the 8th century to 19th century. And this weird practice had attracted the notice of foreign travellers who were amazed by the dour ease with which the sacrificer took his own life.

(iii) The offering of the head has been in a temple of Śakti - as the Maḷḷal, and Tripurantakam inscriptions bear out. The sculpture at Mahābalipuram also confirms this practice before Goddess Durga. Thus it could be attributed to the influence of Tāntric or

Śākta worship forms and rituals. Even Tiruvoṟṟiyūr was a centre of Tāntric worship. Chaturānana Paṇḍita had a maṭha there and at his instance Rājēndra Chōḷa I rebuilt the temple. The former and Vāgiśa Paṇḍita, the author of Jñānāmṛitam had participated in the temple festivals.

(iv) It could be in fulfilment of a vow and for offering one's life at the feet of Śakti as his own austere ritual, or for the benefit of another.

(v) It was a known practice to offer one's life for saving the life of his master, or sometimes for the good of the community. This was, then, a vicarious sacrifice for the benefit of another.

(vi) It was even held as a mark of personal dedicated loyalty for servants, soldiers or gallants to make such a sacrifice when their masters were in distress or at the time of his demise.

(vii) Where an individual has thus made a life-sacrifice as an act of recompense for the unnatural death, the beneficiary - be it his master or the Township community - instituted a lamp service and/or gave a land grant to maintain such services and/or to provide sustenance for the dependents of the deceased.

Notes :-

1 A Supplication to Mahāśakti, *The Poem of Bharati,* p. 93

2 Vānavil Publication, Dr. R. Nagaswami, *Tantric cult of South India* p. 150 and pl. VII

3 *A R.S.I.E.*, B 411 of 1912

4 Ibid., B 141 of 1912

5 Ibid., B 138 of 1912

6 From the impressions of the inscription which was recently copied by the office of the Chief Epigraphist.

7 *The Chōḷas,* Vol. II, Pt. I, P. 15

8 Ibid., p. 20

9 Ibid., p. 128

10 *ARSIE.*, 1909, P. 120, para 73

11 *Seminar on Herostones,* Ed. by Dr. R. Nagasvami (1979)

12 *SII.,* Vol. VIII, No. 193

13 *Ibid.,* Vol, No. 759

14 *Foreign Notices of South India* - Edited by Prof: K.A.N. Sastri, 1972 Edn., p. 167

15 Ibid., p. 197

16 Para 2 of his Report dated 30-11-1888 (No. 269) at page 2 of A.R.E. 1889. J. Burgess, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India has noted thereon: "This is the Chakrapūjā, which I have seen practised in Bengal as late as 1856 ; in the Bombay Presidency it was suppressed at a somewhat earlier date".

9 A NOTE ON VARIKA OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

S. P. Tewari

The job of fetching water and that of household bearers in the modern times, in North India is done by a class of people known as *bārīs*. They are invariably referred to along with the barbers as *'nāū-bārī'*. In the survey of the native races of India, these people called *bāris* are said to be the house-hold servants of the kings having a great reputation of fidelity to their employers. In the same report, it is also mentioned that on occasions, these people were also employed as torch-bearers or some times even as barbers and they did almost all sort of house-hold jobs.[1] Authenticity of the report of the survey mentioning *bārīs* as a class of barbers is also borne out by the *Deśīnāma-mālā* of Hēmachandra who refers to the name of a caste known as *Vāriā*.[2] The Sanskrit commentary on the same explains both *Vachchhiutta* and *Vārīā* as *nāpita* i. e. barber.[3] In our opinion, the presently known *bārīs* and the *vāriā* must be the same. The word *Vāriā* in its turn, on the other hand, might be the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *vārika*.

The word *vārika* is somehow a curious one which finds mention in some of the inscriptions also.[4] The ambiguity of the term is such that it has baffled even eminent epigraphists like Sircar more than once. With reference to the phrase '*Vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ*, he says once that the word *vārika* apparently indicates a royal officer.[5] The same guess, this time with an addition of the word 'possibly' he makes again while explaining *pēṭavika–vārikēṇa* and *uttarakulika–vārikaiḥ*,[6] ignoring the contexts altogether. Again, while editing the same record in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, it *seems* to him that the word *vārika* indicates a class of people. Without any authority whatsoever, he compares them with Gujarati *vārēdār* or tax-gatherers, whereas *vāredār* or *vaharēdār* seems more to be a contracted form of *paharēdār* who is a watchman.[7] Further, with reference to *dēva–vārika*, he makes him a superintendent of a temple and next as a superintendent of the *gandha-kuṭi*.[8] Our simple impression is that Sircar could not make the term clear and he has jumped from a class of official to tax-gatherer and then to a superintendent. His references to *Bṛihaspati–smṛiti* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, with all regard to him, hardly succeed in bringing the point home.

In the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, no doubt, *vārikas* are mentioned along with the *Chāturvaidya-vaṇik* and others who are (on the instruction of the king) to take care of the plantation and the upkeep of the trees standing on the boundaries of the villages.[9] In this case the job of a *vārika* would have been simply to give water (*vāri*) to the plants.

In the same way, the *kaṭaka-vārika* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[10] also seems to be the person whose duty it was to supply

water to the army. Even the errand on which the *kaṭaka - vārika* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* was sent suits only our interpretation better.

Vārikas, mentioned in the legends of the Nālandā seals, though not explained by Shastri, also seem to be the monks whose part of duty in the commune of the monastery was to look after the water supply.[11] In the monastic set up where there was no distinction of caste or creed involved, the assignment of the duties of a *vārika* to a monk may have had a direct relevance to the degree or level of that monk's spiritual attainments.

This rather short note on *vārika* leads us to conclude as follows :

1. That in all probability, the word *vārika* is an abbreviated form of *vāri-vāhaka* which yields the sense of a water-carrier. Its formation may be the same as *bhāra-vāhas-tu-bhārikaḥ*.[12]
2. That the references to *vārika* in the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* are also made in the same sense.
3. That the *vāriās* referred to by Hēmachandra would also be the same as *vārikas*.
4. Their close association with the community of barbers is mainly based on the similarities in their profession of attending to the bath of the king. This is also borne out by the evidences from the Jātakas.[13]
5. In all probability the *vārikas* are the same who are known presently as *bāris* and are frequently referred to as *nāū-bārī*.
6. In the light of the above, the *vārikas* of the inscriptions should also be taken as the household attendants of the kings whose main duty was to fetch water and attend to the bath of the king. Being close to their masters, as they were, they would have also been looking after his personal belongings including the gifts received from the visitors.
7. That an old and experienced *vārika* would have also been able to misappropriate some of the gift items and have thus earned the displeasure of his master which would have resulted in the proclamation that from now onwards no gift should be placed on the hands of *vārikas* any more: *vārikasya hastē nyāsako na sthāpanīyaḥ*.

Notes :-

1 Sherring, M.A., *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I (reprinted) Delhi, 1974, pp. 403-04.

2 *Deśīnāma-mālā* ed. by Pischel, R., Bombay, 1938, 7-47 : *Chaṇḍilaē vachchhīutta-vāriā taha phale vare ittharh.*

3 Ibid., *vachchhīutto tathā vārio nāpitaḥ.*

4 Charter of Vishṇusēna, sam. 649, vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 171, 173-75 and 179; Vol. XXXI, p. 164, n. 1. XXXII, pp. 56, 57, 60. See also Sircar, D. C., Epigraphy and lexicography in

India, vide *Proc. of the all India Oriental Conference*, Bombay, 1949, pp. 273-75, *Indian Epigraphy* 8-8, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 245, 364, etc.

5 *Epigraphy and lexicography*, op. cit., p. 273.

6 Ibid., p. 275.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 173 ff.

8 *Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 364.

9 *Sīmā-vṛikshāṁś-cha kurvīran* ..... and *rājā kshētraṁ datvā chāturvaidya vaṇig-vārika* ...... *svāmi-purush-ādhishṭhitaṁ* etc. (*Bṛihaspati*, G. O. S. ed. p. 159).

10 *Rāja.* : *Teshām-madhyē vasan-gūḍham-Ādityākhyaḥ patāyitaḥ hatō Vigraharājasya priyaḥ kaṭaka-vārikaḥ* VI. 345.

11 Shastri, H., *Nalanda and its Epigraphic material*, *M. A. S. I.* No. 66, p. 38. S. I. 675, pl. III a reads as *Śri Nalandā, Bālāditya gandhakuṭyā-vārika-bhikshūṇām* ; see also S. I. 919, 938 ff.

12 Dr. Agrawal, V. S. (*Harshacharita Ēk Sāmskṛitik Adhyayan*, Patna, 1964, p. 164) has mistaken even *bhārika* as *vārika* which is not correct.

13 For references see *nahāpakō vā nahāpakāntēvāsī vā* (J. I. 342) ; *hīna-jachcho mala majjano nahāpita-putto* (J. II 452, III 453), etc.

10 SOME IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM IDAR TALUK

K. M. BHADRI

Idar Taluk is situated in the northern part of Sabarkantha District, Gujarat. It once formed part of the erstwhile Īḍar State. This Taluk contains a number of temples, both Hindu and Jaina, tanks, step-wells, etc. Some of these monuments date from fairly early period. Though not very rich in epigraphical wealth, the taluk has yielded a number of inscriptions which have been noticed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. Following is a brief review of some important inscriptions.

Vaḍāli inscription of Dhārāvarsha[1] is perhaps the earliest record found in this region. It is incised on the lintel of the door to the sanctum-sanctorum of the Vaidyanātha temple at Vaḍāli. It is in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters. It belongs to the reign of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra king of the Chandrāvati branch and is dated in Vikrama 1264, Chaitra śu. 13, Thursday which regularly corresponds to 1206 A. D., March 23 (f. d. t. .33). The purport of this inscription is to record the construction of the *maṇḍpa* of the Vaidyanātha temple by *Pratī°* Sāhaṇapāla, the son of Haripāla and the grandson of Narapāla, who was the door-keeper (*dvāsthaḥ*) of the ruler. This record is interesting in as much as it throws light on the existence of the office of the door-keeper (*dvāsthaḥ*) in the court of the kings of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati in the 13th century.

The next inscription[2] comes from Dāvaḍ. It is in Sanskrit languge and Nāgarī characters and dated in Vikrama 1305 Āśvina, ba. 11, Monday, corresponding to 1249 A.D., September 4. It introduces *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāṇā* Lūṇadhavaladēva, who is not known so far. Its purport is to record the death of a hero named Bhūṇāka, probably the son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jagasīha in a btatle fought against *Rāja* Virā. Lūṇadhavala of this inscription is no doubt identical with his name sake figuring in another hero-stone inscription[3] coming from the same place.

There are two damaged and worn out inscriptions in the compound of the Baijanātha temple at Vaḍāli. One of these inscriptions[4] dated in Vikrama 1320, Kārttika śu. 8, Thursday, corresponding to 1263 A. D., October 11 (f. d. t. .09) refers to the rule of *Mahārāṇaka* Arjunadēva and probably records some gift to the deity Vaidyanātha. The ruler referred to in this record can be none other than the Vāghēla king Arjunadēva who ruled between Vikrama 1318 and 1331.[5] The other inscription[6] dated in Vikrama 1331, Āśivna ba. 10, Wednesday, corresponding to 1274 A. D., September 26, seems to record a gift made by a certain *Rāṇā* Āmaṇadēva on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

An incomplete inscription[7] from Mahōr dated in Vikrama 1532 and Śaka 1397 refers to the rule of *Rājādhirāja* Bhāṇa, who, on the basis of his imperial

title and the date found in this inscription can be identified with *Raō* Bhāṇa of the Rāthōḍa family of Īḍar and whose two other inscriptions of the same year (i. e. Vikrama 1532) have been noticed elsewhere.[8]

Next in chronological order are the two inscriptions of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhāramalla, son of Bhīma of the Rāṭhoḍa family of Īḍar. One of them[9] was found in a step-well at Sābalwāḍ and the other[10] in a *kuṇḍa* at Sābli. Both of them are written in both Sanskrit and Gujarati languages and Nāgarī characters and dated in Vikrama 1599. They are historically important. The very facts that they present Bhāramalla as the ruling king in the Vikrama year 1599 and inform us that he conquered the Adhīla-durga (i.e. the fort of Īḍar), are important for the political history of the Īḍar State. They complete the story of Bhāramalla's struggle for the throne of Īḍar and declare his final victory over Rāṇā Sāṁgā of Chitōḍ by whom he was dethroned twice. An inscription[11] found in the compound of Rāmjī-mandir at Vaḍāli also belongs to the same king. Though it is badly damaged and worn out the name of the king and the adjective *gōpālaguṇa,* which forms part of his characteristic epithet as found in the above records, can be clearly read.

An inscription from Baḍōla[12] refers to the reign of Rāthōḍa Kalyāṇamalla. It is in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters and dated in Vikrama 1682. It records the construction of the entrance to a well by *Rāṇā* Sāṁgā, who hailed from the Vāghēla stock and who was the maternal uncle of the ruler. Another inscription[13] of the same ruler and same year has been copied from Baroda Museum. This inscription is said to have been found at Goros. In this record Kalyāṇamalla is described as *Mahārāyāṁrāya* and said to have been ruling from Īlacha-durga (i.e. the fort of Īḍar). Thus, the family name Rāṭhōḍa occuring in the Baḍōla inscription and the characteristic epithet *Mahārāyāṁrāya* and the reference to the fort and the region of Īḍar (*Īḍara-dēśa*) occuring in the Goros inscription prove it certainly that Kalyāṇamalla belonged to the same royal family as the one to which Bhāramalla belonged. *Rāṇā* Sāṁgā appearing in the Baḍōla inscription cannot be identified at present. The fact that he is described as the maternal uncle of Bhāramalla shows that the Rāthōḍas of Īḍar were matrimonially related to the Vāghēlas from the time of Bhāramalla's father Bhīma if not earlier.

Some of these inscriptions are interesting for the study of place-names also. Those from Dāvaḍ furnish the earlier forms of this place-name as Dayāvaḍa Dyāvaḍa. The present day Vaḍāli was known as Vāṭāpalli in the 13th century. It may be noted here that both these place-names seem to be associated with *Vaṭa* (peepul tree). The modern village of Mahōr was known as *Muhari-grāma* in the mediaeval period and the fort of Īḍar was called by not less than four different names viz., *Adhīla-durga, Īlacha-durga, Ilā-durga* and *Māchhala-durga.*

Thus the inscriptions from Idar Taluk help in the reconstruction of the political and social history of the region.

Notes :-

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71, No. C 3028
2 Ibid., 1977-78, No. B 56.
3 Ibid., 1976-77, No. B 4230.
4 Ibid., 1977-78, No. B 70.
5 *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 204.
6 *A.R Ep.*, 1977-78, No. B 63.
7 *Ibid.*, No. B 63.
8 *A.S.I.R.*, 1936-37, p. 97.
9 *A.R.Ep.*, 1977-78, No. B 64.
10 Ibid., No. B 65.
11 Ibid., No. B 74.
12 Ibid., No. B 53,
13 Ibid., No. B 48.

11 MALLAR PLATES OF VYAGHRARAJA : A RE-APPRAISAL

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The set of three copper-plates bearing this record was found at Mallar, a village in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh, which is known to have yielded several other copper-plate charters and is a place of considerable archaeological interest as revealed by recent archaeological excavations conducted by the University of Saugar[1]. The inscription has heen edited by D. C. Sircar and Bhattacharya in *Epigraphia Indica*, xxxiv, pp. 45-50.

The set, as stated above, comprises three plates which are joined together by a copper-ring passing through a circular hole bored about the middle of the left margin of each plate. The surface of the seal attached to the ring is divided into two parts by a thick horizontal line running across it. The upper section, which is somewhat smaller than the lower one, bears, in a row from left to right, the side view of a wheel, the head of an animal or bird (perhaps Garuḍa)[2] and a conch-shell. In the lower part we have a single-line legend giving the name of the issuer preceded by the honorific *śrī* in nominative singular (*śrī-Vyāghrarājaḥ*) and below it an indistinct device which may be a lotus flower.[3] The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side whereas the middle plate is inscribed on both the sides. The characters belong to the nail-headed variety of the South Indian alphabet, the triangular tops of the letters being of the hollow or linear variety. The language is Sanskrit and the record is composed in prose except the imprecatory stanzas. It constitutes a good example of the ornate *kāvya* style.

The charter was issued from Prasannapura situated on the bank of the river Nidilā by a certain Vyāghrarāja who is described as the younger brother (*anuja*) of King Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka who is himself said to have been the son of Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and to have belonged to the Amarārya-kula. It aims at recording Vyāghrarāja's grant of the village Kunturapadraka included in the Pūrva-rāshṭra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Dīkshita* Agnichandrasvāmin, son of *Dīkshita* Durggasvāmin and a student of the *Ṛigvēda* and belonging to the Kāpy-Āṅgirasa *gōtra*. It was given on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Pausha in the year 41 of the year of the increasingly victorious reign.[4]

Though not stated clearly, the above-mentioned year is evidently referable to the reign of Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and not to that of Vyāghrarāja, the donor of the charter. This is clearly indicated not only by the fact that Vyāghrarāja is described simply as a younger brother (*anuja*) without any indication of his regal status but also by the order in respect of the grant which is addressed to the respectable royal officers of the king (*rājñaḥ sumānya-rājapurushān*[5]) who could be none else than his elder brother who is described in so very glowing terms. The fact that the seal affixed to the charter refers to

Vyāghrarāja himself and not to the reigning king Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka may be explained away by assuming that at the time of the grant Vyāghrarāja may have been looking after the administration on behalf of his elder brother who may have been ailing or otherwise incapacitated to rule or that Vyāghrarajā may have been appointed as the provincial governor of Pūrva-rāshṭra and authorised to issue the charter in his own name.[6]

The chiefs Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and Vyāghrarāja as well as the Amarārya-kula to which they belonged are not known from any other source. However, it is now popularly assumed that these chiefs belonged to what is commonly known as the Śarabhapurīya dynasty so called after its capital Śarabhapura and that Amarārya-kula was the real name of the family from which the Śarabhapura monarchs hailed. This supposition is based on the following considerations :–

a) Prasannapura, the place of issue of the grant, is reminiscent of the Śarabhapurīya king Prasanna or Prasannamātra who may have been responsible for founding and naming the city after himself.

b) The names Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka remind one of the the Śarabhapurīya chiefs Jayarāja and Pravararāja and as such names are not known to have been borne by members of any other ruling family ruling in the area and period in question, these rulers appear to have belonged to the Śarabhapurīya dynasty.

c) The Pūrva-rāshṭra wherein the granted village is stated to have been situated finds mention in a few Śarabhapurīya records also.[7]

In view of the above considerations the present record is, by common consent, attributed to the Śarabhapurīyas. And in keeping with this ascription, efforts have been made to find a place for the ruling chiefs named in it in the Śarabhapurīya dynasty. Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, for instance, has been unanimously identified with the Śarabhapurīya chief Jayarāja, son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra, who is known from a few of his own copper-plate inscriptions.[8] However, while Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is described in the charter in question as the son of Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, the last known Śarabhapurīya monarch Pravararāja describes himself as the son of Mānamātra,[9] also known as Durgarāja or Mahā-Durgarāja.[10] In order to overcome this difficulty, Jayabhaṭṭāraka's son Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka has been designated by Sircar and Bhattacharya as Pravararāja I who is sought to be distinguished from Mānamātra-Durgarāja's homonymous son whom they propose to re-designate as Pravararāja II.[11] If this theory is to be accepted, it will follow that Jayarāja (Jaya-bhaṭṭaraka of the present record) was followed by his son Pravararāja I (Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka of our inscription) who was himself succeeded by his uncle Mānamātra-Durgarāja. On these lines the genealogy and order of succession of the Śarabhapurīyas (or Amarārya-kula with which they are proposed to be identified) are proposed to be re-drawn as under :–[12]

1. Śarabha

2. Narēndra

3. Prasanna or Prasannamātra

4. Jayarāja (or Jaya-bhaṭṭaraka) 6. Durgarāja-Mānamātra

5. Pravararāja I (or Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka) Vyāghrarāja 7. Sudēvarāja 8. Pravararāja II

On the other hand, B. C. Jain who, too, is in favour of ascribing this record to the Śarabhapurīyas, holds that Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is identical with Pravararāja known from the latter's Thakurdiya[13] and Mallar[14] plates. And to meet this objective he suggests that Pravararāja's (*i.e.*, Pravara - bhaṭṭāraka's), father bore as many as three different names, to wit, Jayarāja (or Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka), Mānamātra and Durga-rāja.[15] According to this view, Vyāghrarāja was yet another son of Jayarāja (Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka) - Mānamātra - Durgarāja.[16] The genealogy, according to this reconstruction, would be as follows :-

1. Śarabha

2. Narēndra

3. Prasanna or Prasannamātra

4. Jayarāja–Mānamātra–Durgarāja

5. Sudēvarāja 6. Pravararāja Vyāghrarāja

However, if this inscription is closely scrutinised, the difficulties involved in its attribution to the Śarabhapurīyas will become obvious. There are some fundamental differences in the character of the Śarabhapurīya records on the one hand and the Mallar plates of Vyāghra-rāja on the other which it is difficult to ignore in the present context. The former, as is well known, are written in the box-headed characters of the Central Indian alphabet while the latter are engraved in the nail-headed characters of the South Indian alphabet with linear or hollow triangular tops. In case Vyāghra-raja and other members of his family are regarded as Śarabhapurīya chiefs, one will have to explain as to why the nail - headed variety of the South Indian alphabet was singled out for use only in a solitary inscription as against the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet employed in all the remaining epigraphs. The attempt of Sircar and

Bhattacharya to overcome this difficulty by conjecturing that the donee of this charter came from the South fails to carry conviction. For, if we were to accept this suggestion, we must further conjecture that the grantee had brought a South Indian scribe also with him with the object of engraving the charter in anticipation of receiving a land-grant, which is simply absurd. Secondly, in respect of the style of composition this record is miles away from all the other grants of the dynasty to which it is sought to be attributed. The Śarabhapurīya records have nothing like the ornate description of the place of issue we come acorss in the present charter and mention the place of issue without even a single adjective. The description found in this record reminds us of classical Sanskrit literature and later epigraphs which abound in such descriptions. Similarly, the description of Pravarabhaṭṭāraka in his younger brother's inscription is quite dissimilar to that of the acknowledgedly Śarabhapurīya chiefs including Pravararāja with whom he is sought to be identified. In addition to the general reference to the feudatories bowing down at the feet, the hardship caused to the enemy women and liberal gifts of wealth, earth and cows, all the standardised Śarabhapurīya records from the time of Jayarāja onward pointedly refer to the issuing chief's religious leanings and devotion to parents which are conspicuously absent in Vyāghrarāja's charter. The grant portion including the notification of this inscription also differs considerably from that met with in the Śarabhapura charters. The latter do not refer to the worshipping of the present and future Brāhmaṇas as in Vyāghrarāja's record which maintains total reticence regarding the privileges and exemptions bestowed on the grantee which are, without a single exception, specified in all the Śarabhapurīya grants. In all the standardised Śarabhapurīya charters from the time of Jayarāja we come across five imprecatory verses the last four of which are attributed to Vyāsa. Vyāghrarāja's epigraph, on the other hand, contains only four such verses none of which is ascribed to Vyāsa and the wording of even these stanzas is considerably different from that of the corresponding verses found in the Śarabhapurīya charters. There is also difference in the manner of mentioning the engraver, the Śarabhapurīya records using the expression ***utkīrṇam*** and Vyāghrarāja's inscription, ***karma kṛitam***. And finally, as for the seals, we find no similarity between the two sets of records in question. The upper portion of the seal attached to the Śarabhapurīya charters bears the representation of the Abhishēka-Lakshmī motif which is conspicuous by its absence on the seal of Vyāghrarāja's grant which shows three Vaishṇavite symbols in a row. While the latter seal bears a short prose legend in its lower section, that of the Śarabhapura chiefs contains a two-line legend in the ***Anushṭubh*** metre alluding to the grantor's father and martial qualities. The attempt to explain away the difference between the seals by assuming that 'Vyāghra was Jayarāja's son born of a South Indian lady and adopted the seal of the family to which his mother belonged'[17] is hardly convincing.

While the differences mentioned above are too vital to be overlooked, the

arguments adduced in favour of attributing the record under review to the Śarabhapurīyas and regarding the identification of Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and Vyāghrarāja as Śarabhapura chiefs are absolutely illusory. That Prasannapura, wherefrom Vyāghrarāja's charter was issued, was named after the Śarabhapurīya chief Prasanna or Prasannamātra does not prove anything, for we have instances of localities established by or named after the members of other or even hostile dynasties serving as the capital of the succeeding dynasties not to speak of their serving as the places of issue of the copper-plate charters of the latter.[18] Likewise, the suggested similarity between the names Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka brought to light by this charter and those of the Śarabhapurīya monarchs Jayarāja and Pravararāja respectively is only apparent. In the records of the Śarabhapurīyas themselves Jayarāja and Pravararāja are nowhere referred to as Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka respectively and, for that matter, the word *bhaṭṭāraka* is not found suffixed to the name of any acknowledgedly Śarabhapurīya chief. Secondly, the word *mahat* is found invariably prefixed to the names of the Śarabhapura kings from the time of Jayarāja[19] in the body of the text of their records. There is only a solitary instance of the mention of the issuing chief's father's name in a couple of Śarabhapurīya records and the word *mahat* is attached to his name also.[20] If the record in question also belonged to the Śarabhapurīya dynasty it is inexplicable as to why this feature is conspicuously absent in it and why the word bhaṭṭāraka in not attached to ruling chiefs' names in other records of the family. Then again, the relationship between Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka as indicated in this inscription differs from that between the Śarabhapurīya chiefs Jayarāja and Pravararāja.[21] It is no doubt true that Pūrva-rāshṭra formed an administrative division of the Śarabhapurīya kingdom as well as of that of Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka. However, administrative divisions often remained unaffected by the change of rulers. Therefore there is nothing surprising if Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka, even if he belonged to a different dynasty, continued the administrative organisation of the Śarabhapurīyas unchanged.

And lastly but not the least, had the Śarabhapurīya monarchs actually belonged to the Amarārya-kula, they would not have maintained complete silence on this point in their other records which are quite numerous.[22]

It will follow from the foregoing discussion that in the present state of our knowledge there is no evidence whatsoever to equate the Amarārya-kula with the Śarabhapurīyas and kings Jayabhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka with the Śarabhapurīya chiefs Jayarāja and Pravararāja respectively.[23] And consequently there is no need to alter the genealogy and order of succession of the Śarabhapura chiefs in the light of the evidence furnished by the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja.

Before we conclude we should like to advert to the question of the date of this record. As clearly stated therein, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka belonged to a family known as Amarārya-kula, which is obviously the same as the Amaraja-kula[23] from which Lōkaprakāśā, queen of

Bharatabala, the Pāṇḍava chief of Mēkalā, hailed.[24] Lōkaprakāśā is further said to have been born in Kōsalā.[25] As the only known record of Vyāghrarāja of the Amarārya-kula has been found at Mallar and was issued from Prasannapura which was in all probability situated in the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh, it may be reasonably assumed that the Amarārya-kula chiefs were ruling in South Kōsala and that Bharatabala's queen Lōka-prakāśā belonged to this family. Earlier scholars were inclined to place the records of the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā and the chiefs mentioned therein in the fifth century A.D.[26] This view was mainly based on the supposed veiled allusion to the Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna in a stanza in the Bamhani plates[27] which gave rise to the assumption that Bharatabala was a vassal of Narēndrasēna whose reign is generally dated in the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. But the discovery of the Mallar plates of Bharatabala's son and successor Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira[28] has shown that there is absolutely no reference to Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna and that the verse in question was misunderstood so far. And concequently the basis for dating the grants of the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā in the fifth century A.D. has altogether disappeared. We have, however, another unimpeachable evidence for determining the date of these records and the chiefs known from them. The Malga plates of *Sāmanta* Indrarāja have been dated by D. C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan on palaeographical grounds in the first half of the seventh century A.D.[29] We have shown elsewhere that the draft of the Malga plates of Indrarāja bears very close resemblance to that of the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍas of Mēkalā and that the engravers of the records of both were related to one another as brothers.[30] Therefore, the charters of the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā also have to be dated about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[31] As Lōkaprakāśā, queen of the penultimate known Mēkalā Pāṇḍava chief Bharatabala, belonged to the Amar-ārya-kula as known from this inscription, it has also to be dated about the same period. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the Amarārya-kula chiefs came to power in South Kōsala after the termination of the Śarabhapurīya rule.

To sum up, the chiefs known from the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja had nothing to do with the Śarabhapurīyas and appear to have ruled over a part of South Kōsala in the closing years of the sixth and early years of the seventh century A. D.

Notes :-

1 For detailed information about the results of excavations and other finds from Mallar, see K. D. Bajpai and S. K. Pandey, *Malhar.*

2 According to Sircar and Bhattacharya, it is probably lion.

3 Sircar and Bhattacharya think that it may be the head of an elephant to front.

4 Sircar and Bhattacharya point out that if the horizontal stroke following the symbol read as 40 is taken as a mark of punctuation, the latter may be read as 4 also, though they prefer to read the date as 41 (*EI.*, XXXIV, p. 50, fn. 2). B. C. Jain (*Catalogue of Antiquities preserved in the M. G. M. Museum*, Raipur (Hindi), vi (inscriptions), introduction, p. viii, text, p. 175 and V. V. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i, p 200, fn. 4) are inclined in favour of reading the date as 4. However, as punctuation mark is generally not found after the figure indicating the year in copper-plate charters, we are inclined to read the date as 41. According to Sircar and Bhattacharya, the figure preceding that for 1 stands for 40. But we may as well read it as 4 and take the year to be indicated according to the new or decimal system of numeral notation. It is noteworthy that exactly the same form of 4 (but for the notch in the left lower portion characterising South Indian alphabet and the box-head which is typical of Central Indian box-headed variety) is noticed in a number of epigraphic records and coins dating from the early centuries of the Christian era and in the Bower manuscripts detable to *c.* Sixth century A. D. (*vide* G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, pls. 1xxi and 1xxii). The use of the decimal notation together with the old method employed while specifying the day (20, 7, *i. e.*, 27) is in no way surprising as similar examples of the employment of both the systems side by side are met with in the Lodhia plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin chief Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna (*EI.*, xxvii, p. 325, line 32) and a stray plate attributable to the same king from Burhikhar (*VIJ.*, xv, p. 120).

5 *EI.*, XXXIV, p. 49, lines 9-10.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

8 *JESI.*, iv, pp. 70-75; EI., xxxiii, 155-58; *CII.*, iii, pp. 193-94; *EI.*, xxxiv, pp. 28-31.

9 *EI.*, xxii, p. 22, seal ; xxxiv, p. 52, seal.

10 In the Dhamatari and Kauvatal plates of Sudēvarāja (*JESI.*, v. p. 95, line 4 *EI.*, xxxi, p. 315, line 3), the elder brother of Pravararāja, his father is called Mahā-Durgarāja.

11 *Ibid.*, xxxiv, p. 47. See also pp. 51-52 where the Mallar plates of Pravararāja are published by G. Bhattacharya as those of Pravara II.

12 *Ibid.*, xxxiv, p. 47. This genealogical reconstruction is tacitly admitted by Mirashi also. See his *Studies in indology*, i, p. 249.

13 *EI.*, xxii, pp. 15-23.

14 *Ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 51-52.

15 It may be pointed out that Sircar and Bhattacharya also hinted at such a possibility but thought it was less likely than their own reconstruction. See *ibid*, p. 47, fn. 2.

16 B. C. Jain, *op. cit.*, introduction, p. viii.

17 *EI.*, xxxiv, p. 48.

18 The Riddhapur plates of the Nala chief Bhavadattavarman were issued from Nandivardhana, the capital of the capital of the Vākāṭakas who were obviously enemies of the Nalas, and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of South Kōsala are known to have had their capital at and issued their copper-plate grants from Śrīpura which become the capital of the later Śarabhapurīyas, *viz.*, Sudēvarāja and Pravararāja.

19 As this word is not found ie Narēndra's grants and Prasannamātra's charters are yet to be found, Jayarāja may, at present, be credited with initiating this practice which was followed by succeding ruling families of South Kōsala.

20 *JESI*, v, p. 95, text-line 5; *EI.*, xxxi, p. 315, text-line 5.

21 Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is described as Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka's son while Pravararāja was son of Mānamātra-Durgarāja and nephew of Jayarāja.

22 As many as sixteen records have been reported so far. The assumption of Sircar and Bhattacharya that the mother of Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and Vyāghrarāja may have been daughter of a person named Amarārya or born in a family which claimed a certain Amarārya as its progenitor and hence they regarded themselves as belonging to the Amarārya-kula lacks probability. For, while the practice of representing oneself as belonging to the mother's family might have prevailed in the South, it was not in vogue in the North and the Śarabhapurīyas were admittedly northerners.

23 The representation of Lōkaprakāśā, queen of Bharatabala, the Pāṇḍava chief of Mēkala, as born in the Amaraja family in Kōsala alse does not prove the Amarārya-kula extraction of the Śarabhapurīyas as she obviously belonged to the Amarārya-kula which, as shown above, was different from the Śarabhapurīyas.

23a The family was evidently so called as it traced its origin from a person named Amara who was apperently the same as Amarārya, *ārya* being only an honorific suffixed to the name. For instance of *ārya*-ending names where *ārya* served the purpose of an honorific termination, see Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti, *CII.*, v, p. 97, text-lines 10-18.

24 *EI.*, xxvii, pp. 141-42, verse 10. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, p. 191, text Lines 30-31.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 191, text-line 29; *EI.*, xxvii, p. 141, text-line 29.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 132; *CII.*, v, p. 83 (where the characters of the Bamhani plates are compared to those of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā) Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, 230-36.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 231; *EI.*, xxvii, p. 137; *CII.*, v, pp. 83-84.

28 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, pp. 183-93. These plates show that Bamhani plates were also issued by Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira and the impression that they belong to Bharatabala was due to the omission, by oversight, of a prose passage mentioning Śūrabala.

29 *EI.*, xxxiii, p. 209.

30 *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, xxi-xxii, p. 19-25.

31 *Bhāratī bhānam* (Dr. K. V. Sarma Felicitation Volume), pp. 439-43.

12 NOTES ON D. R. BHANDARKAR'S INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS.

V. V. Mirashi.

Note I – The Date of the Mathurā Pedestal Inscription of Kanishka

D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* forms the third Volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (second edition). Dr. Bhandarkar was an eminent epigraphist and a renowned scholar of ancient Indian history. In several places he has stated his views different from those of other scholars. They evince his great erudition and mastery over the subject. But in some places they appear strange and require to be examined critically in the interest of historical truth. We draw attention of scholars to some of them in these notes.

In order to show that the Later Great Kushāṇas had extended their rule east of the Punjab when Samudragupta rose to power, Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of Kanishka II. This record was discovered by pandit Radha Krishna. It is inscribed on the pedestal of a broken statue of the Buddha. It has been edited by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Epigraphica Indica*, XIX, pp 96 ff., Its date was then read by him as follows—*Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatsarē 10 4 Pausha māsē divasē 10* (on the 10th day of the month of Pausha in the year 14 of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka). Sahni referred this date – year 14 – to the reign of Kanishka I (A D. 92). Bhandarkar, however, reads the date as 84 and refers it to the Kalachuri era.[1] It then corresponds to A.D. 332. It falls close to the time of Samudragupta. Bhandarkar identifies this Kanishka with Kanishka II. According to him, this epigraph shows that Kushāṇa rule had extended at least up to Mathurā just before the rise of the Guptas. Kushāṇa influence on the coinage of the Guptas can thus be accounted for. It also shows that Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta is none but the contemporary Kushāṇa king.

Bhandarkar's reading of the date of this inscription cannot be accepted. Daya Ram Sahni's reading of that date as 14 is, no doubt, wrong. The first symbol of that date which Daya Ram read as 10 does not certainly denote that number. See the symbol signifying 10 which occurs further on this very epigraph. But it does not signify 80 also. The symbol for 80 usually resembles that denoting *upadhmānīya*. It is, however, usually flat, not slanting as here. When erect, it denotes 50. We have discussed this matter in detail in our article in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 293 ff. We have shown that the symbol used here denotes 50. So the date of this inscription on the pedestal of the Buddha image is the year 54, not 84. It is of the reign of Kanishka II, the son of Vājheshka or Vārishka. It is of the Kushāṇa or the so-called Śaka era.

Bhandarkar, who reads the date as 84, refers it to the Kalachuri era of A.D 250. Even if we accept his reading of the date, it cannot be of that era. Like some other scholars, Bhandarkar seems to have believed that any date can be referred to any era. This is a mistaken view. It would have been possible if all eras had been current in all parts of India simultaneously. But this was never the case, Each era was current in some particular part of the country in a particular period only, not at all times. The Kalachuri or Chedi era was really started by the Ābhīras in A.D. 250, when the Kalachuris were not known to history. In the beginning its circulation was limited to the empire of the Ābhīras which comprised Northern Mahārāshṭra, Koṅkaṇ and Gujarāt. The era never spread to the Mathurā region, much less in the time of the Kushāṇas. So the date, even if it is read as 4, cannot come close to the time of the Early Guptas.

So the date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription, *iz.*, the year 54, must be referred to the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78, started by Kanishka I. It belongs to the reign of Kanishka II, who was ruling jointly with Huvishka in the period of years 50 to 58 of that era. Their joint rule is like that of Chashṭana and Rudradāman as noticed in the Andhau inscriptions. For a detailed discussion of this, see the afore-mentioned article in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 293 ff.

Note II

(a) "Sātakarṇi or rather his queen performed the Horse Sacrifice."

(b) "Aśvamēdha was performed twice by Vēdiśrī Sātakarṇi."

Bhandarkar[2] wrongly supposes these two to be separate cases, but they are the same as they are mentioned in the same passage of the Nānēghāṭ inscription. In (a) also, not one, but two Horse Sacrifices are intended to be mentioned.

The Nānēghāṭ inscription mentions several Vedic sacrifices. They fall into two groups :- (1) those mentioned in lines 6 to 16 of that epigraph which king Sātakarṇi performed conjointly with his *sahadharmachāriṇī* Nāganikā, and (2) those named in lines 17 to 20 which Nāganikā alone (*sayam*)[3] performed after her husband's death. Aśvamēdha mentioned as second (*ditiyo*) in line 2 falls in the first group. So it and also the first Aśvamēdha were performed by Sātakarṇi and his queen Nāganikā conjointly, not by Sātakarṇi nor by Nāganikā alone. The Aśvamēdha is a sacrifice which only kings can perform, not their queens after their death.

(b) The second statement that Aśvamēdha was performed by Vēdiśrī twice is erroneous. It is evidently based on the same passage in the Nānēghāṭ inscription as the first. That inscription was incised in the Nānēghāṭ cave during the reign of Vēdiśrī,[4] the son and successor of Sātakarṇi I. Line 1 of that inscription first mentions obeisance to several gods such as [Prajāpati], Dharma, Indra etc. and then, like several ancient inscriptions, records the date mentioning the reigning king's name; but only the words *Vedisirisa raño* of that date portion now remains at the end of line[5] 1. The remaining words of the date portion which ocurred in the beginning of line 2 are now lost. The inscription is of the dowager queen Nāganikā which she got incised in the reign

of her son Vēdiśrī. The two Aśvamēdhas (the first of which was mentioned in some line from 6 to 10, now mutilated, and the second is named in line 11) were performed conjointly by her husband and herself. They were not performed by her son Vēdiśrī. No other Aśvamēdhas performed by Vēdiśrī are known.

Note III

While discussing the question whether Samudragupta performed one or more Aśvamēdha sacrifices[6], Bhandarkar refers to the statement in several Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions that the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I performed as many as eleven Aśvamēdhas.[7] Bhandarkar thinks that the statement is incredible. "This Mādhavavarman", says he, "may have been an independent prince, for aught we know to the contraray, but certainly he must have ruled over a small dominion, occupying scarcely one-sixth part of South India. Besides, he was not a suzerain." Bhandarkar thinks that his eleven Aśvamēdhas were in the form of the dakshiṇā which was elevenfold of that usually given at an Aśvamēdha.[8] Other instances of multiple Aśvamēdhas also must he understood in the same manner

This interpretation of multiple Aśvamēdhas mentioned in ancient records is fantastic. Had this been true, there would have been many more instances of multiple Aśvamēdhas than are noticed in ancient Indian records; for, it is easy to multiply Aśvamēdhas in this manner. The people would not have attached any value to such fictitious Aśvamēdhas.

The Aśvamēdhas were certainly not multiplied in this manner. The early Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I performed two Aśvamēdhas. They could not have been in the form of double the dakshiṇā usually given to brāhmaṇas at an Aśvamēdha sacrifice; for, they are mentioned in the Nānēghāṭ inscription as performed at different times.[9] This must have been true in other cases also though there is no explicit statement to that effect in their cases.

Mādhavavarman was not a minor prince ruling over scarcely one-sixth part of South India as Bhandarkar supposes. When the great Vākāṭaka emperor Harishēṇa conquered Andhra in the course of his *digvijava*, he deposed the Śālaṅkāyana king ruling there and gave his dominion to Vishṇukuṇḍin Gōvindavarman I, and gave a Vākāṭaka princess to his son Mādhavavarman I to cement the political relations.[10] Some Vishṇukuṇḍin records discovered recently show that after Harishēṇa's death, Mādhavavarman I extended his rule far and wide so as to comprise a large part of South India. His own records have indeed been found only in the Andhra country, but the Tummalaguḍem plates of his descendant Vikramēndravarman II, dated Śake 488, significantly describe that he adorned the earth bounded by the sea in the east and the south and by the river Narmadā in the north.[11] This is confirmed by copper-plate grants and coins. As he had a long reign of more than forty years, his empire was divided among his two grandsons, for his sons had predeceased him. One of his grandsons, viz., Indravarman succeeded him in Andhra,[12] while another grandson, Mādhavavarman II occupied the western portion of

Mahārāshṭra. His Khanapur plates[13] record his donation of a village in the Satara District. He is described in one record as the lord of the Trikūṭa and Mālaya mountains[14] and was evidently ruling over the western part of the Vishṇukuṇḍin empire. It is no surprise then that Mādhavavarman I is called *Sārvabhauma* in the afore-mentioned Khanapur plates.

Vishṇukuṇḍin coins have been found in excavations and on the ground over a wide area. They have no legends, but were evidently in circulation in Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra as shown by the finds in the excavations at Pavnar and Newasa.

Mādhavavarman I was greatly revered. He was a very pious king. He performed not only eleven Aśvamēdhas but several other sacrifices such as Bahusuvarṇa, Pauṇḍarīka, Vājapēya, Purushamēdha and others.[15] His mother also was held in great veneration. She was a pious Buddhist lady and is referred to as *Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādēvī* in the Tummalaguḍem plates (Set I). She is said to have had Mādhava (Vishṇu) as her son in the guise of Mādhavavarman I[16].

Mādhavavarman I, who is credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamēdhas in several Vishṇukuṇḍin records, was, therefore, not a minor prince ruling over scarcely one-sixth part of South India as Bhandarkar supposes. He was a *sārvabhauma* or emperor and certainly played a dominant part in the post-Harishēṇa period in South India.

Note IV - Page 65 -

"Prabhāvatīguptā must have been far advanced in age when she issued her Riddhapur plates[17] and, as a matter of fact, she is represented in this inscription as being more than a hundred years old."

The expression in the Riddhapur plates which has confounded many scholars is *s - āgra - varsha - śata-jīva-putra-pautrā* Like some other scholars, Bhandarkar takes it as denoting that Prabhāvatīguptā was a full hundred years old and had sons and grandsons in the 12th regnal year of Pravarasēna II. This is manifestly impossible. The expression does not at all refer to the age of Prabhāvatīguptā. Besides, it occurs in her own grant. She could not have used such an expression indicative of her own long life therein; for she was a widow. To a Hindu widow a long life as detestable. She would not boast of it in her own record. So the long life mentioned in this expression is of her sons and grandsons. *Jīva-putrā* often occurs in Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions[18] and literature[19] in the description of women and signifies their blessed life; for, to have a living son is regarded as a sign of good fortune in the case of women. But, it may be asked, did Prabhāvatīguptā then have sons and grandsons a hundred pears old ? This also is impossible. The expression is not to be taken literally. It means 'having sons and grandsons who, by God's grace, would live for a full hundred years.' The expression is of the same type as the adjectives *chirañjīva* and *āyushmat* which we use in referring to little children. They are not 'long-lived' at the time. Still, we use them. Our intention is to express our wish and hope that they will be long-lived.

This correct interpretation of the expression under discussion was pointed out first in our *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, long after Bhandarkar completed his Gupta Volume, and could not have been noticed by him.

Note V

While mentioning the tributaries of Chandragupta II, Bhandarkar[20] refers to a line of feudatory princes who ruled at Daśapura, modern Mandasor in Malwa. He states that in this family Naravarman was a feudatory of Chandragupta II, and Bandhuvarman was of Kumāragupta I.

Recent discoveries of epigraphic records have shed considerable light on this family which was named Aulikara. Their known genealogy may be stated as follows—

Jayavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Naravarman (known dates Mālava Saṁvat 461 and 474)
|
Viśvavarman (M.S. 489)
|
Bandhuvarman (M.S. 493)
|
Prabhākara (M.S. 524)
|
Ādityavarman (suzerain of Mānavāyana Gauri, M.S. 547)
|
Dravyavardhana (flourished before A.D. 505)
|
Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana (M.S. 589)

Of these, the kings from Jayavarman to Prabhākara ruled from Daśapura, while those from Ādityavarman to Yaśōdharman had their capital at Ujjayinī after the decline of the Guptas.

All these Aulikara kings were politically independent. They have not only not mentioned any suzerain in their records but have not indicated their feudatory status by describing themselves as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*(meditating on the feet of their suzerains). The Mandasor stone inscription no doubt states that a guild of silk-weavers from Lāṭa migrated to Daśapura in Mālava Saṁvat 493 (A. D. 536) being attracted by the excellence of that country and its ruler Bandhuvarman while Kumāragūpta (I) was ruling the earth; but this mention of the latter king was probably intended to mark the time of their migration, as the Gupta kings were famous in those days. There is no clear indication that Bandhuvarman had anknowledged the suzerainty of Kumāragupta (1). Similarly the Mandasor inscription of the time of Prabhākara mentions Chandragupta (II) and Gōvindagupta, but that is stated incidentally in connection with the mention of the *Sēnāpati* Dattabhaṭa's ancestry. That reference gives no indication that Prabhākara was politically subordinate to the contemporary Gupta king. Besides, both these inscriptions are dated in the Mālava Saṁvat and not in the Gupta Saṁvat. The latter era was *invariably* used in all countries comprised in the Gupta Empire. The Aulikaras have not used that era in any of their records. They have throughout used the Mālava Saṁvat in all their inscriptions. The Gupta era spread to distant countries like Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Saurāshṭra, but it did not penetrate into the country round Daśapura which lies only about 75 miles, as the crow flies, north of the second Gupta capital of

Ujjayinī. The Aulikaras have not used it even in a single inscription of theirs as they had not submitted to any Gupta king. They were justly proud of this. In the Mandasor pillar inscription Yaśōdharman proudly states that he was protecting with ease his valient country that had not submitted even to the Guptas and the Hūṇas.[21] There is no exaggeration in this.

So Naravarman, Viśvavarman and Bandhuvarman never submitted to the Guptas and were never their feudatories as Bhandarkar supposed. Their use of the Kṛita or Mālava Saṁvat clearly testifies to this.

Note VI

"There is an inscription engraved in duplicate on two Pillars of Victory, found at Mandasor, which speaks of a king named Vishṇuvardhana[22] who enjoyed territories which were never enjoyed by the Gupta lords and where even the sway of the paramount Hūṇa sovereigns did not penetrate."

Bhandarkar[23] has followed Fleet in the interpretation of the original verse which runs as follows[24]

Ye bhuktā Gupta-nāthair=na sakala-vasudh-
ākrānti-dṛishṭa-pratāpair-
n-ājñā Hūṇ-ādhipānāṁ kshitipati-mukuṭ-
ādhyāsinī yān pravishṭā ।
Deśāṁs=tān-dhanva-śaila-druma-gahana-
sarid-vīra-bāh-ūpagūḍhān
vīry-avaskanna-rājñaḥ sva-gṛiha-parisar-
āvajñayā yō bhunakti ॥

Like Bhandarkar all scholars have till now accepted Fleet's interpreation of this verse and held that Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana's Empire exceeded in expanse those of the Guptas and the Hūṇas. But that interpretation is wrong. Note the form of *bhunakti* used in the verse. It is the third person singular in the *Parasmaipada* of the root *bhuj.* That root takes the terminations of both the *Parasamaipada* and the *Ātmanēpada*, but in different senses. According to Pāṇini's *sūtra bhujo-n-avanē* (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, 1. 3. 66), the root *bhuj* takes the *parasmaipada* in the sense of 'protection' and the *Ātmanēpada* in all other senses. As the verse has the Parasmaipada form *bhunakti*, it denotes the sense of 'protection.' So the intended meaning is that Yaśōdharman protects his countries which had not been conquered before either by the Guptas or by the Hūṇas with as little concern as he does in the case of the courtyard of his own house. The verse states explicitly that his kingdom had never before been conquered by either the Guptas or the Hūṇas. And this was so indeed. For, the Gupta power had penetrated up to the region round Ujjayinī, but did not overrun the Mandasor territory. Similarly, the Hūṇas had occupied Central India extending from the Panch Mahal District[25] in the west to the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh in the east,[26] but they could not conquer the region round Mandasor. There is therefore, no exaggeration in the verse.

The verse does not, however, state that Yaśōdharman's kingdom was larger in extent than those of the Guptas and the Hūṇas as Bhandarkar supposes.

Note VII

"Toramāṇa was probably in possession of North India as far as Ēraṇ from *circa* 495 to *circa* 503 A. D. The first of these dates, namely, 495 A. D., falls after the Gupta year 175=494-95 A. D., the last

known date of Budhagupta. And the second date, namely 503 A. D. is prior to the Gupta year 191 = 509-10 A. D., the date of Bhānugupta (Narasiṁhagupta-Bālāditya) when there was an attempt on the part of the chieftains of the Gupta house to re-establish its power. The period from 503 to 510 A. D. certainly fell in the reign of Mihirakula, and it is not unreasonable that about 510 A. D. the Gupta sovereign (Narasiṁhagupta-Bālāditya) who was in hiding for some time made his appearance and asserted himself with the help of his vassals, and expelled Mihirakula from the Magadhan kingdom as it appears from the account of Hiuen Tsang. But though about 510 A. D. Mihirakula was ousted from his Magadhan dominions, his power remained unshaken in Central India till about 518 A. D., the fifteenth year of his reign, when Yaśōdharman dealt a blow to the Hūṇa supremacy in India."[27]

This reconstruction of Gupta history in the time of Budhagupta and Bhānugupta is based on several identifications and assumptions for which there is no evidence. There is, for instance, no ground to suppose that Narasiṁhagupta-Bālāditya was another name of Bhānugupta. There is no doubt that there was a king named Bālāditya ruling in Magadha. An inscription at Nālandā[28] mentions him as the constructor of a *prāsāda* (temple) of the Buddha at Nālandā. The record is, however, of a much later age. It is of the time of King Yaśōvarman of Kanauj who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A. D., and affords no help in determining the date of Bālāditya. Hiuen Tsang's account about him is evidently based on hearsay, and is too much exaggerated. He says that the number of the stūpas demolished by Mihirakula was 1600, and the number of monks killed by him was nine crores. It is hard to believe such stories. Besides, Hiuen Tsang tells us that Mihirakula flourished some centuries before him. As a matter fact, the distance in time between the two was only about a century. His account in several other cases has been proved to be erroneous. So what he says about Bālāditya and Mihirakula cannot be believed in the absence of corroborative evidence.

The dates which Bhandarkar has assigned to Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula do not appear to be correct. Skandagupta obtained a resounding victory over the Hūṇas, which the Junāgaḍh inscription dated in the Gupta year 137 (A.D. 456-57) describes as being extolled even by his enemies living in the country of the Mlēchchhas.[29] The Hūṇas were not, however, totally exterminated. They probably continued to hold some part of Central India: for we find that their leader Tōramāṇa could pounce upon the territory round Ēraṇ in the heart of the Gupta Empire in the very first year of his reign. The date of this incursion can be fixed approximately. An inscription at Ēraṇ dated in the Gupta year 165 (A.D. 484-85)[30] during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta records the erection of a flag-staff (*dhvaja-stamba*) by *Mahārāja* Matṛivishṇu and his brother Dhanyavishṇu. The next inscription[31] at the same place dated in the first regnal year of Tōramāṇa states that Matṛivishṇu was then dead and his brother Dhanyavishṇu erected a temple of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu there. Matṛivishṇu may

not have died immediately after G. S. 165. The construction of the temple, installation of the image of the Great Boar and the invasion of Tōramāṇa may have easily taken about five years. So we can place the commencement of Tōramāṇa's reign in A.D. 490.

Recently three copper-plates of the feudatories of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula have been discovered at Sanjēli in the Panchamahal District of North Gujarat.[32] Tōramāṇa's Empire, therefore, extended at least from the Panchamahal District of North Gujarat in the west to the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh in the east. As stated before, he probably commenced his reign in A.D. 490. How long did his rule continue? Another inscription[33] at Ēraṇ gives a clue in this matter. It is dated in the Gupta year 191 (A.D. 510). It states that Gōparāja, an ally of the Gupta king Bhānugupta, came to Ēraṇ with him. The latter is described as 'the bravest man on the earth, equal in valour to Arjuna'. Gōparāja fell fighting in the battle of Ēraṇ and his wife immolated herself as *sati*. The enemy against whom the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta and his friend Gōparāja fought at Ēraṇ is not mentioned in the inscription, but a little reflection will show that he must have been Tōramāṇa. He was probably defeated in the battle. Otherwise, the inscription eulogising the Gupta Emperor would not have been allowed to be incised on the memorial pillar at Ēraṇ. Tōramāṇa evidently lost the Airikiṇa *vishaya* to the Guptas. Here is another date (A.D. 510) of Tōramāṇa's reign.

Later, Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana defeated Mihirakula, the successor of Tōramāṇa. His Mandasor Victory pillar inscription is not dated, but another inscription of his reign, *viz.*, the Mandasor stone inscription, which mentions his imperial titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, is dated in the Mālava (Vikrama) Saṁvat 589 (A. D. 532). This inscription was evidently incised after his defeat of Mihirakula, when he became the lord of the country extending from the Himālayas to the Mahēndra mountain, and from Assam to the Western Sea. So we may fix his defeat of Mihirakula in *circa* A. D. 530, not A. D. 518 as Bhandarkar supposes. The Gwalior inscription[34] of Mihirakula is dated in the fifteenth regnal year. It was certainly not the last year of his reign. He may have continued to reign for a few years more, say five years. In that case, he may well have succeeded Tōramāṇa in *circa* in A. D. 510. If this is true, Tōramāṇa was not only defeated but was actually killed in the battle of Ēraṇ in A. D. 510.

Hiuen Tsang's account that Mihirakula was defeated by Narasiṁhagupta-Bālāditya does not stand scrutiny. We have discussed this in detail elsewhere[35] and shown that the real vanquisher of Mihirakula was Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana.

Notes :-

1 *C.I.I.*, III (secone ed.). p. 28.

2 Ibid., p. 37.

3 The word *sayaṁ* (Sanskrit, *svayam* meaning 'herself') occurring in line 17 (Bühler's No. II, line 7) has not been noticed by scholars till now. It is of utmost significance for the interpretation of the large Nānēghāṭ inscription. It shows clearly that the sacrifices mentioned in that inscription fall into two groups. Those mentioned in lines 6 to 16 were performed during the life time of Sātakarṇi I, and those mentioned in lines 17 to 20 were performed after his death. Instead, it has been believed that all the sacrifices mentioned in the whole record were performed by Nāganikā alone after the death of her husband.

4 The *maṅgalācharaṇa* of the record ends with *namō Kumāravarasa* which means 'Obeisance to Kārttikēya (the best of *kumāras*)', and not 'obeisance to Vēdiśrī, the best of princes' as Bühler and several other scholars believed till now. For a full discussion of this, see our *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (second ed.), pp. 135 ff.

5 These words belong to the date portion of the record. Its later portion has been lost at the beginning of line 2.

6 *CII.*, vol. III (second edition), p. 39.

7 See e. g. the Ramatīrthaṁ plates of Indravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 133 ff.

8 Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the words of Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*, Aśvamēdhika-parvan (cr. ed.), 90, 14-15. But this view does not appear to have been held generally.

9 The Nānēghāṭ inscription mentioned the first Aśvamēdha in the mutilated portion of lines 6-10, and the second Aśvamēdha in line 11.

10 Mādhavavarman's son Vikramēndravarman is described as *Vishṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka-vaṁśa-dvay-ālaṅkṛita-janmā* in his Chikkulla plates. See *Ep. Ind.*, Iv, p. 193.

11 See the Tummalaguḍem plates of Vikramēndravarman, dated Śaka 488, *Ep. Andhr.*, II, pp. 4 ff.

12 [The employment of regal title for Vikramēndravarman I in the records of his descendants goes against this view. Ed.]

13 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 312 ff.

14 See the Ipur plates of Mādhavavarman II, *Ep. Ind.* XVII, pp. 338 ff.

15 See the Tummalaguḍem plates of Vikramēndravarman, *Ep. Andhr.*, Vol. II, pp. 4 ff.

16 *Loc. cit.* line 20. In the Tuṇḍigrāma grant of Vikramēndra (*Ep. Ind.* XXXVI, pp. 7 fff.) Mādhavavarman is eulogised as one who had attained *pārameshṭhya* and is called *dēvātidēva*.

17 *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (C.I.I., IV, pp. 33 ff.)

18 See the Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, line 2 (*History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, p. 34).

19 See *Ṛigveda*, X. 2. 6. 9. Also *Mahābhārata*, V, 144, 9; and *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 19. 11.

20 *CII.*, Vol. III (second edition) pp. 66 - 67.

21 For a detailed discussion, see the following note.

22 The king's name occurring in that inscription is Yaśōdharman, but he is the same as Vishṇuvardhana.

23 *CII.*, Vol. III (second edition), p. 87.

24 *Ibid.*, (first ed.). p. 146.

25 Some plates of the time of the Hūṇa king Tōramāṇa have recently been found at Sanjēlī in the Panchamahal District of Gujarat. See *M.S. University Archaeological Series*, No. 14.

26 An inscription of Tōramāṇa has been found at Ēraṇ in the Sagār District of Madhya Pradesh *CII*, III (first ed.), pp. 158 ff.

27 *CII.*, Vol. III (second edition), p. 88.

28 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 93.

29 *CII.*, III (first ed.), pp. 59 ff.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 158 ff.

32 *JOI*, XXIX, pp. 11 ff.

33 *CII.*, III (first ed.), p. 91.

34 *Ibid.*, III (first ed.), pp. 162 ff.

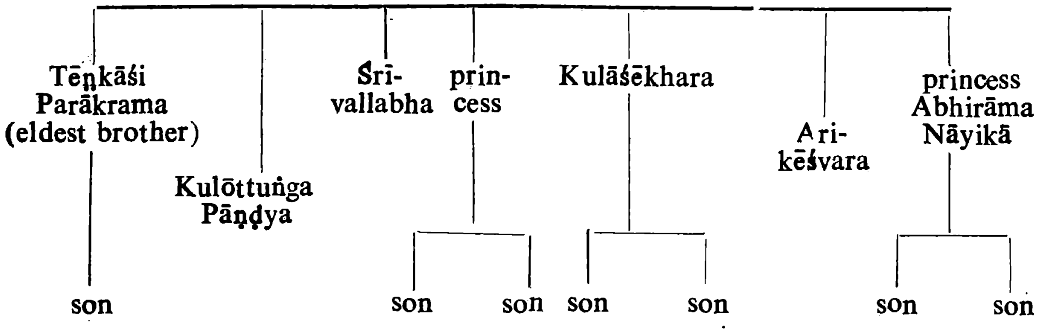
35 Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, pp. 98 ff.

13 TENKASI PARAKRAMA PANDYA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

N. Sethuraman

Jaṭilavarmaṉ Arikēsaridēva Parākrama Pāṇḍya ruled from A. D. 1422 to 1463. His capital was Teṉkāśi in Tirunelveli District. Parākrama Pāṇḍya constructed the Teṉkāśi Viśvanātha temple. His records[1] state that the temple was built in stages and it took seventeen years to complete the construction. The erection of this temple was the greatest event of his reign and so in the historical literature he is called *"Teṉkāśi Parākrama Pāṇḍya"*.

Parākrama was the eldest. He had four brothers and two sisters. The brothers were Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya, Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara, Śrīvallbha and Arikēśvara. The name of the first sister is not known. The second sister was called Abhirāma Nāyikā.



In this article an attempt is made to identify the successors of Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Among them one was the son of Parākrama. Two were the sons of Kulaśēkara. Each sister had two sons. The princes and their records are identified with the help of inscriptions and the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*[2].

Inscriptions of these kings are available. They quote the years in Śaka era. Where Śaka year is absent, the records furnish the astronomical data along with the solar dates of the months. The kings had same names like Parākrama, Kulaśēkhara, Śrīvallabha, Vīra Pāṇḍya etc. This creates serious difficulty in the investigation of their records. Scholars were puzzled in identifying the princes and their positions in the genealogy. In certain cases records which bear the same name of the king were assigned to only one king. However, the astronomical data not only do not agree but point out to different initial dates. This discrepancy is clearly spelt out in Annual Report on Epigraphy 1918, page 159, paragraph 58, which in its concluding remark states *"it is not possible to account for this discrepancy at present"*.

It is true that several princes had identical names. They quote the stars in which they were born. In Tamil this is referred to by the phrase "*nām piranda nakshatra*". Evidently, it means the star in which the king was born. Certain records quote the stars in which the king was born. In Tamil this is referred to by the phrase "*aṭṭai piranda nakshatra*". It means the star in which the reign of the king was born. In other words it is the accession star of the king.

Earlier scholars thought that "*nām piranda nakshatra*" and "*aṭṭai piranda nakshatra*" meant the birth star of the king. They applied this surmise to those records in which the names of the kings and the stars of asterism are same and assigned them to one and the same king. But the astronomical data did not agree. Scholars were puzzled.

Actually when a particular star is quoted as the birth star of one king, the same star is quoted as the accession star of another king - and both the kings have the same name. It is evident that they are different identities. A close examination of the inscriptions of this period, the birth and accession stars of the kings and the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam* help us in identifying the princes and their records.

Jaṭilavarmaṇ Arikēsaridēva Parākrama Pāṇḍya

A record[3] which comes from Teṇkāśi is dated in the 40th year of Jaṭilavarmaṇ Arikēsaridēva Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The other data are Śaka 1384 Mithuna 28, ba 13, Friday and star Mṛigaśira. The data perfectly agree with Friday the 25th June 1462. Star Mṛigaśira in the month Mithuṇa of 1462 falls in the 40th year. Therefore star Mṛigaśira in Mithuṇa of 1422 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 18th June 1422. The king did not ascend the throne till this date.

Another record[4] which comes from Teṇkāśi belongs to the same king. The data are Śaka 1385, regnal year 42, Kaṛkaṭaka 30, śu 13, Thursday, and Uttiram. The data perfectly agree with Thursday, the 28th July 1463. Star Uttiram in the month Kaṛkaṭaka of 1463 falls in the 42nd year. Therefore, star Uttiram in Kaṛkaṭaka of 1422 belongs to the 1st year. The star was current on 4th July. The king came to the throne prior to this date.

18th June 1422 = Oth regnal year
4th July 1422 = 1st regnal year.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 19th June and the 4th July 1422.

Another record[5] which comes from Teṇkāśi states that Parākrama died on a full - moon day in the month Mārgaḻi in Śaka 1385 corresponding to 24th Dec. 1463 A. D.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya's *birth star was Mṛigaśira.*[6] His records are many. The greatest event of his reign was the building of the Teṇkāśi Viśvanātha temple. His records[7] state that Parākrama performed the foundation function of the central shrine on 6th May 1446. He consecrated the Śivaliṅga (Lord Viśvanātha) in the central shrine on 10th June 1447 A. D. Prior to 16th April 1451 the central shrine, *ardha - maṇḍapa*, *mahā - maṇḍapa*, goddess shrine, *prākāra* walls etc. were

completed. Parākrama laid the foundation for the nine storied front *gōpura* on 3rd November 1457. When the *gōpura* was under construction Parākrama died on 24th December 1463. The rest of the *gōpura* work was completed[3] by Aḷagaṉ Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara, the younger brother of Parākrama.

Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya

Teṉkāśi record No. 569/1917 belongs to Jaṭilavarmaṉ Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya[4]. He calls Parākrama, the builder of Teṉkāśi temple, as the elder brother (*aṇṇāḷvi*). The record states that star Jyēshṭha was the birth star of the king. The data of the record are regnal year 43, Śaka 1388, cyclic year Vyaya, Mithuṇa 29, śu 13, Thursday and Jyēshṭha. The data correspond to 26th June 1466. Except his record we do not find any other record of this king. Probably he was sick and was not able to share the administration of the government.

Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya was the younger brother of Parākrama. He ruled from 1423 to 1466 A.D. *His birth star was Jyēshṭha.*

Aḷagaṉ Perumāḷ Jaṭilavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara

Teṉkāśi record No. 198/1895 (S. I. I. V. 762) belongs to Aḷagaṉ Perumāḷ Jaṭilavarmaṉ Kulaśēkharadēva. In this record Kulaśēkhara states that his elder brother (*aṇṇāḷvi*) Parākrama Pāṇḍya built the Teṉkāśi Viśvanātha temple from the foundation to the pinnacle. The data of this record are regnal year 44, Vṛiśchika 6, full-moon, Thursday and Krittika. The data perfectly agree with 4th November 1473. It is evident that this Kulaśēkhara was the younger brother of Parākrama and he came to the throne in 1430. The records which belong to Jaṭilavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara are tabulated below.

ALAGAN PERUMAL JATILAVARMAN KULASEKHARA 1430 – 77

(Table 1)

Record No	Village	Regnal year & date	A D Date
453/1917	Kuṟṟālam	37, Ṛishaba 27, ba 5, Saturday and Śravaṇa	23–5–1467
477/1917	-do-	38, Tulā 3 su, Friday and Anurādha	2–10–1467
526/1917	Teṉkāśi	39, Tulā, Thursday, Mṛigaśira	6–10–1468
519/1917	-do-	Śaka 1390 year 39 Tulā 13, ba 11 Wednesday, Uttiram	12–10–1468
564/1926	Śrīvilliputtūr	Śaka 1395, year 44, Kaṉṉi 19, ba 10, Āyilyam, Friday.	17–9–1473
565/1917	Teṉkāśi	44 Makara 7, Monday, Puṉarvasu.	3–1–1474

Record No.	Village	Regnal year & date	A. D. Date
544/1917	-do-	44, Kuṁbha 24, śu 2, Friday. Uttiraṭṭādi.	18-2-1474
346/1950	,,	Śaka 1399 current, year 47, Mīna 25, Friday, śu 7 and Ārdrā.	21-3-1477

The above table reveals that Kulaśēkhara, the younger brother of Parākrama, ruled from 1430 to 1477. His Teṉkāśi record 565/1917 states the Kulaśēkhara's ***birth star was Puṉarvasu***

Jaṭilavarmaṉ Arikēśvara

The next brother was Jaṭilavarmaṉ Arikēśvara[10] and he was younger to Kulaśēkhara. His records are tabulated below.

JATILAVARMAN ARIKESVARA

(Table 2)

Record No.	Village	Regnal year & date	A. D Date
541/1917	Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1390, regnal year 32, Siṁha 21, śukla 2.	19—8—1468
No. "A" of page 252 T. A. S. I.	Sāmbur Vaḍakarai	34, Karkaṭaka 5, śu 5, Tuesday and Uttiram.	3—7—1470

The above records indicate that Arikēśvara came to the throne in 1437 and his rule extended up to 1468. The Sanskrit poem ***Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*** supplies some extra information. It states[11] that at the demise of Teṉkāśi Parākrama the brothers Kulaśēkhara and Arikēśvara took over the administration of the kingdom. After sometime Kulaśēkhara died. Later Arikēśvara also died.

The last date of Kulaśēkhara as gleaned from the inscriptions is 1477. Evidently Arikēśvara died sometime after this date. For the present we shall surmise that his reign came to an end in 1478.

Śrīvallabha

Sāmbur Vaḍakarai record (A of Table 2) of Arikēśvara supplies some more information. In this record Arikēśvara refers to the grants made in the earlier days by his elder brothers (*aṉṉāḷvi*) Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Śrīvallabha. After referring to those grants, Arikēśvara on his part also offers some more grants. It is said that Śrīvallabha was younger (*tambi*) to Parākrama and elder to Arikēśvara. The record states that star ***Uttiram was the accession star*** (*"aṭṭai piranda nakshatra"* ***of Śrīvallabha***) Karivaḷamvandanallūr record No. 278/1908 belongs to Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Śrīvallabhadēva. It quotes Śaka year 1393

corresponding to A. D. 1471. Probably he is the same Śrīvallabha mentioned in the Sāmbur Vaḍakarai record. We shall place this Śrīvallabha between Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara and surmise that he was alive in A. D. 1471.

Sundara Pāṇḍya* alias *Vīra Pāṇḍya son of Teṇākśi Parākrama

Teṇkāśi record 547/1917 belongs to Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The record quotes Śaka 1385, Kaṛkaṭaka, the 42nd regnal year of the king. It is evident that this record belongs to Teṇkāśi Parākrama and it is dated July 1463. The record registers gift of land to the brahmins for the recitation of the Vēdas. The land was situated in Vīra Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam founded in the name of *prince* Vīra Pāṇḍya. Probably this Vīra Pāṇḍya was the son of Parākrama. Teṇkāśi record 10/1912 belongs to Sembaka Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. It is dated Śaka 1384 corresponding to A.D. 1462. The record registers the gifts of houses and shares in the village of Vīra Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalamto the brahmins for reciting Vēdas etc. The record also refers to such grants already made but on smaller scale in the Śaka years 1369, 1378, 1382 and 1384 evidently by the king.

The above two records indicate that Sembaka Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva was the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and the village Vīra Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was founded in his name. Earlier grants made in the Śaka years referred to above indicate that this Vīra Pāṇḍya also ruled in the capacity of *yuvarāja* in the period 1447 to 1462.

Two Sons of the First Sister

A record (No. I, page 263, T. A. S. I.) which comes from Sāmbur Vaḍakarai belongs to Śrīvallabhadēva. In this record Śrīvallabha calls Teṇkāśi Parākrama "uncle" (*māmaḍi*). It is evident that this Śrīvallabha was the nephew (sister's son) of Parākrama. The record further states that *star Ārdrā was the acccession star* (*"aṭṭai piranda ārdrā"*) of the king. The date of the record is regnal year 5, Kaṇṇi 30, ba 7, Friday and star Ārdrā. The date perfectly agrees with 29th September 1458. This date yields the accession of the king in A.D. 1454. Except this record, no other record of this king is available.

It is evident that Śrīvallabha was the son of the sister of Teṇkāśi Parākrama. *His accession star was Ārdrā.* This prince also shared the administration of the government from A.D. 1454 to 1458.

Three records Nos. E, F and G – *T. A. S.*, I – pages 251 to 261 belong to Poṇṇin Perumāḷ Parākrama *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya. In all these records the king refers to the transactions of record A of Table 2 dated A.D. 1470. Again he states that those grants were made in the earlier days by his uncles (*māmaḍi*) Teṇkāśi Parākrama, Śrīvallabha and Arikēśvara. It is evident that this Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya was another son of the sister of Teṇkāśi Parākrama and the dates of these records should fall after A. D. 1470.

The records E and G contain the same astronomical date, namely, regnal year 7, Tulā 14, śu 2. Thursday and Anurādha. The data perfectly agrees with Thursday the 13th October 1474 A.D. Record F quotes regnal year 7, Kumba, ba 14, Sunday and star Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭha). The date perfectly agrees with Sunday the 5th February 1475 A.D.

Record F states that *that star Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭha) was the accession star ("aṭṭai piranda aviṭṭam")* of the king. Teṉkāśi inscription No. 548/1917 belongs to Parākrama *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya. The date is Śaka 1402, regnal year 13, Vriśchika, ba 10, Sunday and Hasta. The date corresponds to Sunday the 26th November 1480. A. D.

Śrīvilliputtūr records 565 and 566 of 1926 belong to Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The date is Śaka 1403, regnal year 14, Kaṉṉi 7, śu 14, Thursday and Sadayam. The date agrees with Thursday the 6th September 1481 A. D. The record belongs to Poṉṉiṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya and in this record he is called Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama. (Such kind of curious deviations confused earlier scholars).

All the above five records reveal that *Poṉṉiṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama* alias *Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession star Aviṭṭam* was the second son of the sister of Teṉkāśi Parākrama. Probably he was the younger brother of Śrīvallaba (A. D. 1454–58) and he took part in the administration of the kingdom in the years A. D. 1468 to 1481.

Two sons of Kulaśēkhara

Kulaśēkhara who ruled from 1430 to 1477 A.D. was the younger brother of Teṉkāśi Parākrama. He had two sons whom we shall see below.

A record which comes from Śrīvilliputtūr (Table No. 1) is in the 44th year of Kulasēkhara and it is dated 17th September 1473 A. D. This record mentions prince Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva, son (*magan*) of Kulaśēkhara. It is evident that another prince by name Parākrama Pāṇḍya existed around 1473 A.D. and he was the son of Kulaśēkhara. Teṉkāśi Records 520 and 521 of 1917 belong to Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva. The date is Śaka 1406, regnal year 11, Kārttikai 28, śu 8, Friday and Uttiraṭṭādi. The date corresponds to Friday, the 26th November 1484 A. D. It is evident that this king came to the throne in 1474 A.D. In this record Parākrama Pāṇḍya refers to the transactions carried out in the reign of Kulaśēkhara. This information and the initial year 1474 A.D. prompt us to infer that Parākrama Pāṇḍya of this record was the son of Kulaśēkhara. The records of Parākrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1474 A. D. are tabulated below. In the records he is called Jaṭilavarmaṉ Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍydēva born in the star Dhanishṭha ("nām piranda Aviṭṭam").

Jaṭilavarmaṉ Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍya born in star Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭha) accession 1474 A. D.
(Table 3)

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and Date	A. D. Date
No. H page 26', T. A. S. I.	Sāmbur Vaḍakarai	Regnal year II, Tulā 2, śu, 12 Friday and Sadayam.	1—10 - 1484
520 and 521 of 1917	Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1406, regnal year II. Kārttigai 28, śu 8, Friday and Uttiraṭṭādi.	26 - 11—1484

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and Date	A. D. Date
664/1917	Paṉpuḷi	Śaka 1425, regnal year 30, Kuṁbha, śu 12, Sunday Ārdrā	28-1-1504
T.A.S., I. No. 12, page 47	Śaṅkara Nāyaṉār Kōil	Śaka 1428, regnal year 33.	1506
T. A. S. I. N. 8, page 46	-do-	-do-	1506

Sāmbavar Vaḍakarai record (H of Table 3) supplies some important information. It states that the record was caused to be engraved by *Parākrama Pāṇḍya of birth star Ārdrā.* This Parākrama quotes the 11th year of his elder brother (*aṇṇāḻvi*) Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama. The date of the record is 1st October 1484 A.D.

It is evident that the elder brother was called Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama. *His birth star was Aviṭṭam.* He ruled from A.D. 1474 to 1506. The younger brother was also called Parākrama and *his birth star was Ārdrā.* Both were the sons of Kulaśēkhara.

Dārukāpuram record 585/1915 belongs to the younger brother Parākrama of birth star Ārdrā and it is dated Sunday 24th May 1482 A.D. - the 8th regnal year of the king.[12] It is evident that he too came to the throne in 1474 A.D. and lived up to 1484 A.D.

Abhirāma Nāyikā-second sister of Teṉkāśi Parākrama and her two sons

The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam* describes the reigns of Teṉkāśi Parākrama and his successors. The poem narrates as follows[13].

1. Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the founder of the Teṉkāśi Viśvanātha temple left the kingdom in the hands of his two brothers Kulaśēkhara and Arikēśvara and attained the feet of Lord Śiva.
2. When the two brothers were ruling, their sister Abhirāma Nāyikā gave birth to two sons, namely Champaka Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya. (The princes were born when Teṉkāśi Parākrama was no more).
3. When the boys had been invested with the sacred thread and instructed in weaponry and the science thereof, Kulaśēkhara and Arikēśvara passed away one after the other.
4. After sometime Champaka Parākrama Pāṇḍya was crowned and he was called Kulaśēkhara with the surname *Kōdaṇḍarāma.*
5. As days passed on Champaka Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara and his brother Vīra Pāṇḍya defeated the Kēraḷa king Jayasiṁha.

It is evident that Abhirāma Nāyikā was another sister of Teṉkāśi Parākrama. Evidently the two sons of Abhirāma Nāyikā were born after 1463 A.D. They should be young princess in 1478 A.D. when Kulaśēkhra and Arikēśvara passed away. The two princes should have been crowned sometime after 1478 A. D.

A record[14] which comes from Quilon belongs to the Kēraḷa king Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīra Kēraḷavarmaṇ and it is dated in June 1496 A.D. Most probably this Jayasiṁha was defeated by Champaka Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara and his brother Vīra Pāṇḍya.

All put together the elder should have come to the thone sometime after 1478 A.D. followed by the younger and both should be contemporary to Jayasiṁha of 1496 A. D.

Satisfying these information we have inscriptions of princes of the same names. In the inscriptions the first is called *Jaṭilavarmaṇ Parākrama Pāṇḍya alias Kulaśēkhara. His birth star was Kṛittika.* He came to throne in 1480 A.D. and ruled till 1508 A.D. Evidently he should be the first son of Abhirāma Nāyika. The title Champaka mentioned in the poem refers to the town Kuṟṟālam which is called Champakavanam to which presiding deity the latter Pāṇḍyas were devotees.

Records of Jaṭilavarmaṇ Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Kulaśēkhara of birth star Kṛittika are many. They contain Śaka years and astronomical date which confirm his accession in 1480 A.D. More than twelve records with dates are published in page 114 of A. R. E. 1918. The dates range from 1497 to 1508 A.D. In all these records the king states that he was born in the star Kṛittika.

Vāsudēvanallūr record 350/1950 belongs to Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Kulaśēkhara. The date is Śaka 1409, regnal year 7, Mithuṇa 21, ba 12, Monday and Rōhiṇī. The date corresponds to 18th June 1487 A. D. Accordingly, Rōhiṇī in Mithuṇa of 1480 A.D. belongs to Oth regnal year. It was current on 5th June. His Teṇkāśi record 502/1917 quotes Śaka 1419, regnal year 18, Siṁha 2, śu 3, Tuesday and Uttiram. The date corresponds to 1st August 1497 A. D. Accordingly Uttiram in Siṁha of 1480 A.D. belongs to 1st year. It was current on 7th August.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Kulaśēkhara– of birth star Kṛittika came to the throne between the 6th June and the 7th August 1480 A.D. His rule had extended up to 1508 A.D. as evidenced by his Ūrmēniaḻagiyāṇ village record No. 618/1917 dated Śaka 1429 month Makara, corresponding to January 1508 A.D.

The poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam* states[15] that Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara crowned his younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya. Evidently Vīra Pāṇḍya should have come to the throne after 1480 A.D. We have two records of this king, Nos. 250 and 251 of 19-0–41 and both come from Dēvadāṇam. They quote the same date i.e., the second regnal year of the king, Śaka 1409, Mithuṇa 16, ba 7, Wednesday, and Uttiraṭṭādi which corresponds to 13th June 1487 A. D. The records introduce the king as Champaka Parākramadeva *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍya. The other records of this king are not available. His position and his date prompt us to infer that he should be the second son of Abhirāma Nāyikā. Probably he came to the throne in the first half of 1486 A. D.

We have identified the successors of Teṇkāśi Parākrama. Their dates and their positions in the genealogy are also found. The findings are tabulated in the last page in the form of genealogical tree.

Notes :-

1 Travancore Archaeological Series Volume I, page 99.

2 *"Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam"* - Sanskrit poem, a Mahā Kāvya, by Maṇḍala Kavi critically edited by Dr. K. V. Sharma - Published by Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies - Punjab University - Hoshiarpur - Edition 1981. Please refer to pages xlviii, lxxvii and lxxxv. I am indebted to Dr. K. V. Sarma.

3 531/1909 - T. A. S. I, page 99, No. IV. -

4 547/1917.

5 506/1909 - T. A. S. I, page 98.

6 T. A. S. I, pages 255 and 257; Also see A. R. E, 1926-27, page 98, para 56.

7 507 and 511 of 1909; T. A. S., I, pages 98 and 99.

8 T. A. S. I page 103; A. R. E 1909, 514

9 A. R. E. 1918, page 158, para 56,

10 A. R. E. 1918, page 158, para 57; Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*, confirms that Arikēśvara was the younger brother of Parākrama and Kulaśēkhara.

11 Page 225 - *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam.*

12 Please refer to A. R. E. 1916, page 100. The date is Śaka 1403, regnal year 8, Rishabha 30, Śu 9, Sunday and Uttara Phālguni. The data agree wtth 24th May 1482 A.D. The quoted Śaka 1403 is a mistake for 1404.

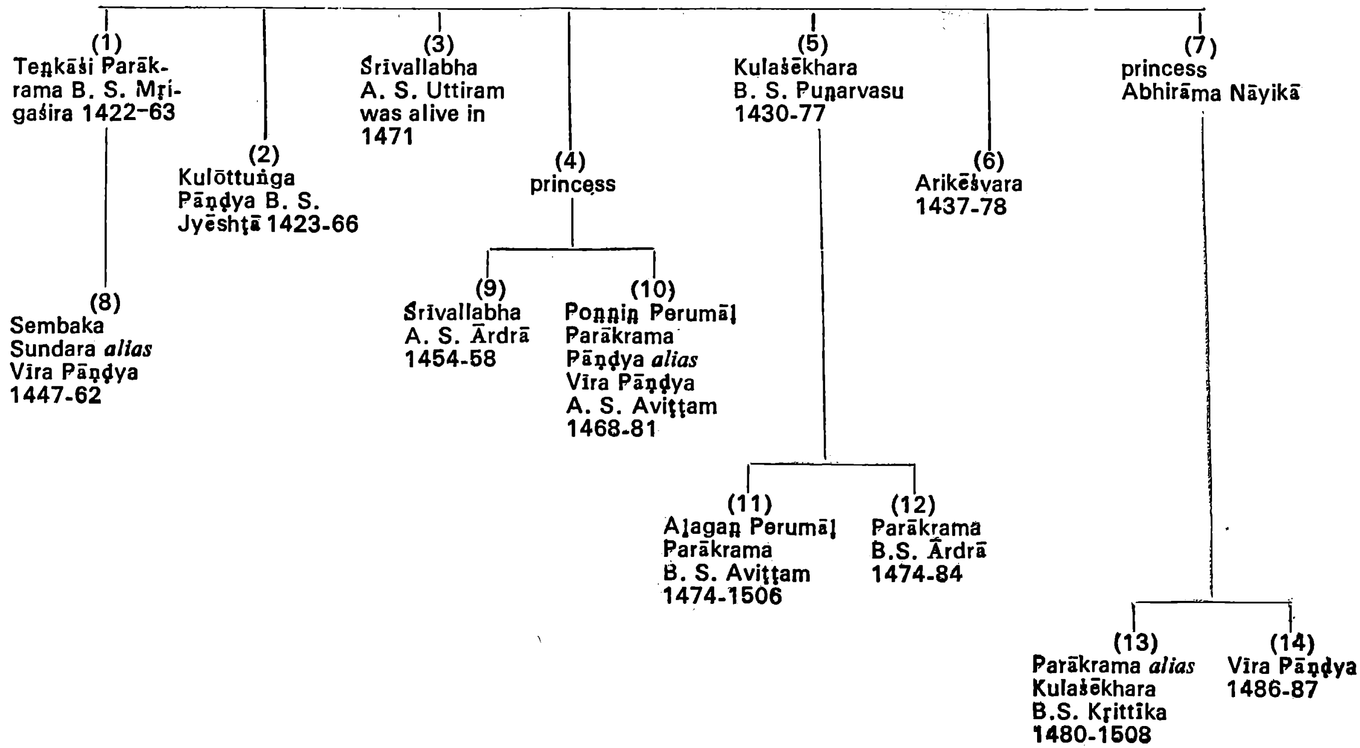
13 *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*, pages 222 to 253.

14 T. A. S., II, page 26. Record of Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīra Kēraḷavarmaṉ quotes Kollam 671, Jupiter in Tulā Rāśi, month Mithuṉa, day of Anurādhā nakshatra which correspond to Wednesday the 22nd June 1496 A.D.

15 *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*, page 237.

TENKASI PARAKRAMA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

B. S.=Birth Star. A. S.=Accession Star.



No. 13 Parākrama *alias* Kulaśēkhara and No. 14 Vīra Pāṇḍya are the heros of the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdayam*.

14 SEGMENTATION OF UNUSUALLY LONG TEXTS OF INDUS WRITINGS : A MATHEMATICAL APPROACH

GIFT SIROMONEY
ABDUL HUQ

INTRODUCTION

The inscriptions of the Indus valley civilization (2500-1500 B. C.) represent the earliest forms of writing in India and Pakistan, and even though we know something about the material culture of the Indus people we do not know what language they used for communication. Claims have been made about successful decipherment of the inscriptions even though no bilingual inscriptions have been found to verify the claims of decipherment.[1] There is one school of thought which proposes that the language of the Indus people was an early form of Indo-Aryan. S. R Rao[2] has followed up this hypothesis and has produced readings of the inscriptions. There is another school of thought which treats the language as a form of ancient Dravidian, and Iravatham Mahadevan[3] who follows this hypothesis has produced a valuable concordance entitled *The Indus Script.*

Our work carried out during the last three years does not depend upon either the hypothesis of the Indo-Aryan nature of the language or the hypothesis of the proto-Dravidian nature. Our interest is in making use of the tables provided by Mahadevan in *The Indus Script* for drawing general conclusions about the inscriptions. We used computer methods to classify the different signs of the Indus script into different classes or clusters based on their positional characteristics.[4] We also studied the frequently occuring inscriptions[5] and classified them in relation to the metropolitan centres from which they found. In this paper we look at the problem of segmentation on the basis of positional characteristics of the signs tabulated in Mahadevan's concordance.

We wish to take up for our study unusually long inscriptions which have a minimum length of ten signs in the Concordance. We examine whether each one of these long inscriptions forms a single text or is made up of two or three shorter texts. One may use different criteria for segmenting a given inscription but we make use of only one criterion in this paper and that criterion is based on the positional characteristics of the signs occurring in that inscription. Each sign may occur at the initial, medial or the final positions of inscriptions or may occur alone. Using the Concordance it is possible to calculate the percentages of occurrence of a sign at different positions. The corresponding proportions may be taken to be the best available estimates of the probabilities of occurrence of the different signs in the different positions. Using these probabilities it is possible to decide whether a long inscription could be segmented or not, and if so, how. The mathematical details of

this optimization method are given in the appendix.

First we take up single line inscriptions and work out the two most likely segmentations. In a majority of cases the original text remains as the most likely string and the segmented version is only the second best. We also take up for study inscriptions appearing in more than one line or the same side or different sides of an object. In the Concordance the unit of textual analysis is a line of a text. Mahadevan has pointed out in his introduction to the Concordance that there is no way of knowing before hand whether different lines of an inscription have continuity of sequence or whether they should be regarded as separate texts. We first assume that the different lines form a single sequence and then test whether the combined text can be segmented using the positional probabilities of the individual signs. In many cases the combined text gets segmented back into the original lines with which we started thereby showing that each line can be treated as a separate text. In some cases, however, new segments are obtained. We also checked whether some lines can be read in the boustrophedon fashion even though the individual signs may have a normal orientation but we did not find any new convincing cases. These lines which contain illegible signs, or signs with uncertain identity are not made use of in this study. Each string of signs is read from right to left as given in the concordance.

Segmentation of Single Line Texts

In Table 1 we present seven examples in which the best reading is obtained by segmenting the strings. The first text (No. 2436) is a string of 11 signs including some signs that are repeated. The best reading is obtained by segmenting after the arrow sign which occurs in the middle. The next best reading is obtained by keeping the line unsegmented as a single text. In the second text (No. 6125) the best reading is obtained by segmenting after the jar sign and the next best reading is obtained by retaining the original inscription as a single text without segmentation. The third text (No. 9011) contains 10 signs. The best reading is obtained by reading the last four signs as a separate text and the next best reading is to keep the original text without change. It is interesting to note that there exists a short inscription (No. 3251) of three signs which is similar to the short segment we obtained from the third text (No. 9011). The short segment has four signs including the jar sign in the terminal position and the two-upraised-hands sign in the pre-terminal position. These two signs form a pair which most often occurs in the terminal position. The jar sign is also a predominantly terminal sign. The short inscription (No. 3251) differs from the short segment in not having the pre-terminal sign of two-upraised-hand. The occurrence of this short inscription (No. 3251) would further strengthen the case for segmenting the third inscription (No. 9011).

In Table 2 we present a set of single line inscriptions whose best readings leave each text unsegmented. Only as a second best reading each inscription gets segmented. We have twentyseven inscriptions presented

in Table 2. From the second inscription (No. 1087) we obtain two shorter texts after segmentation. The shorter of the two new texts ends with the jar sign and contains four signs. This segment of four signs also occurs as an independent text three times and this would strengthen the case for segmentation of the second inscription (No. 1087). The eighth inscription (No. 2446) gets segmented into two and the shorter segment contains three signs. This short segment also occurs as an independent text (No. 2214).

The sign containing seven lines is often interpreted to denote the numeral 'seven'. The pair of signs which includes the seven lines is conjectured to denote the phrase "The Seven High Places".[6] The Ṛ.g Vedic phrase *sapta sindhavas* and the Proto-Iranian *hapta hindu* could refer to the "Seven High Places" and these phrases could be compared with the Sumerin phrase *bad imin* which means "The Seven Enclosed Places". Sumerin trading documents are said to refer to the region Bad Imin and it is identified with some region away from Sumeria but possibly close to or identical with Indus cities. Scholars who are on the lookout for geographical names in the Indus inscriptions look out for sign pairs with the numeral sign seven and more than one pair has been identified to present "the Seven High Places".

Multi-Line Inscripiions

In this section we take up for study multi-line inscriptions whose total length is ten or more signs as given in the Concordance. In Table 3, we have four inscriptions of two lines each. In each case the best reading is obtained by combining the two lines to get a single long inscription. The second best reading is also given. After the two lines are combined, the two texts get segmented and produce texts different from the original version obtained from two lines. In other words taking an inscription of two lines, we get the best reading by combining the two lines into one and the second best reading by segmenting it into two strings each of which is different from the first and the second lines of the original inscription. The third inscription is made up of two lines of identical segments and the best reading is to combine them into a single string and the second best reading is to leave them as they are. The difference in probability between the first and the second readings is very small. The inscriptions are found on two sides of an object from Harappa. It is classified as a sealing which has positive impressions in relief made by seals or moulds; Even though the texts are the same on each side the inscribed objects are quite different. Mahadevan describes the anthropomorphic forms on the two sides as "Man armed with a sickleshaped weapon facing a seated woman with dishevelled hair and upraised arm" on one side and "Nude female figure upside down with things drawn apart and a crab (?) issuing from her womb; two tigers standing face to face rearing on their hind legs" on the other side.

In Table 4 we present ten two-line inscriptions for each of which the best reading is obtained by retaining the original form of two lines as two texts. The next best reading is obtained in most cases by combining the two lines into a single line.

In one case (No. 1227) the second best reading is obtained by segmenting the inscription into three groups but this reading does not seem to be reasonable. For instance the man sign is combined with the comb sign to form a single segment whereas their pair would more naturally occur with the jar sign at the end of a text. However the middle segment of three signs with the jar sign as the terminal sign occurs as an independent text (No. 7027). In one case (No. 1012) a natural way of segmenting would be to divide the first line into two halves after the jar sign and to retain the second line as a separate segment but this segmentation is not one of the two best readings obtained by us. In the eighth inscription (No. 7249), which is from Lothal the first line also occurs as an independent text from the same site.

In Table 5 we present four multi-line inscriptions in which the first line itself gets segmented. The first and the third inscriptions have identical first lines and their second lines have a common terminal sign. The best reading for the first inscription (No. 1321), is obtaine by segmenting it into three texts and the second best reading into four texts. The second inscription has three or four segments. The points at which the inscription gets segmented do not coincide with the end of any line of the original inscription.

In table 6, we present an interesting inscription in five lines. The best reading is obtained by retaining the first line of the text as the first segment and combining the remaining lines to form the second segment. The calculation of probabilities show that this reading is twice as likely as the original text. The next best reading divides the text into three segments. So that the first and second lines make up the first and second segments respectively and the other three lines combine into second segment.

Conclusion

The tables of positional frequencies of each sign given in the Concordance are based on the assumption that each line may not be an actual text of the Harappans and each line could contain more than one text. If reliable segmentations can be made then the positional frequencies could be used for estimating the positional probabilities of the individual signs to a better level of accuracy. If the entire corpus is analysed and segmented, using some objective criteria then one could get at these better estimates of probabilities. These probabilities would be useful in segmentation of texts and also for a cluster analysis of signs.

In this paper we have demonstrated a new method of segmentation using an optimization technique and we hope that the segmentations obtained by our method would be some assistance to scholars who wish to take up the work of identifying new segments in the original inscriptions.

Calculations were made using small electronic calculators but if more texts are to be segmented the aid of a computer would become necessary.

Acknowledgement

We wise to thank our colleague Mr. Dorai Pandian and a number of student volunteers who assisted us in computational work.

Notes :-

1 Arlene R. K. Zide, "A brief survey of work to date on the Indus Valley Script", *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, May 1970, pp. 1-9.

2 S. R. Rao, "Deciphering the Indus Valley Script", *Indian and Foreign Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 15-30, Nov 1979.

3 Iravatham Mahadevan, *The Indus Script: Texts, Concordance and Tables*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1977.

4 Gift Siromoney and Abdul Huq, "Cluster Analysis of Indus signs: a computer approach", *Proceedings of the Fifth International Tamil Conference at Madurai*, 1981, pp. 2-15 to 2-23.

5 Gift Siromoney, "Classification of frequently occurring inscriptions of Indus civilization in relation to metropolitan cities", STAT-45/80 (mimeo); Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Calcutta in January 1981.

6 John Mitchiner, *Studies in the Indus Valley Inscriptions*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1978.

7 K. V. Mital, *Optimization methods*, Wiley Eastern Ltd., New Delhi, 1976.

INDUS WRITING

Tables 1 & 2

TABLE 1. SINGLE LINE INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR MOST LIKELY SEGMENTED VERSIONS

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2436)		51	
	BEST READING		58	
	SECOND BEST	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	51	
2.	ORIGINAL TEXT (6125)		71	
	BEST READING		76	
	SECOND BEST	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	71	
3.	ORIGINAL TEXT (9011)		58	
	BEST READING		63	(3251)
	SECOND BEST	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	58	
4.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2317)		59	
	BEST READING		61	(2380)
	SECOND BEST	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	59	

TABLE 1 – CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
5.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2654)		45	
	BEST READING		52	(4237)
	SECOND BEST	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	45	
6.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4254)		46	(2371)
	BEST READING		59	(2605)
	SECOND BEST		55	(2015, 2575, 5089, 7279)
7.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4269)		47	
	BEST READING		52	
	SECOND BEST		50	

Note: The greater the increase in percentage, the better the chances are that the corresponding segmentation represents the original Harappan version

TABLE 2. SINGLE LINE INSCRIPTIONS THAT REMAIN UNSEGMENTED AND THEIR SECOND BEST VERSIONS

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1049)		69	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	69	
	SECOND BEST		56	(6304)
2.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1087)		67	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	67	(1013, 1619, 2091)
	SECOND BEST		50	
3.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1421)		80	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	80	
	SECOND BEST		51	
4.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1429)		71	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	71	
	SECOND BEST		51	

TABLE 2 – CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
5.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1540)		66	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	66	
	SECOND BEST		47	
6.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2109)		52	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	52	
	SECOND BEST		34	
7.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2325)		61	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	61	
	SECOND BEST		45	
8.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2446)		67	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	67	(2214)
	SECOND BEST		47	

Table — 2 (continued)

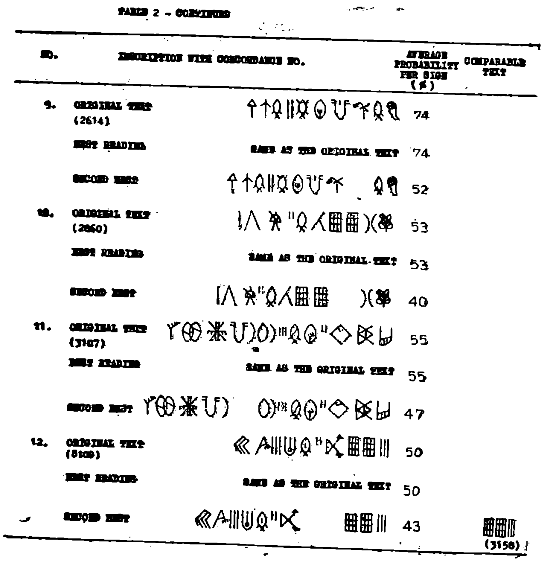


TABLE 2 - CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
9.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2614)		74	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	74	
	SECOND BEST		52	
10.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2860)		53	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	53	
	SECOND BEST		40	
11.	ORIGINAL TEXT (3107)		55	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	55	
	SECOND BEST		47	
12.	ORIGINAL TEXT (5109)		50	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	50	
	SECOND BEST		43	(3158)

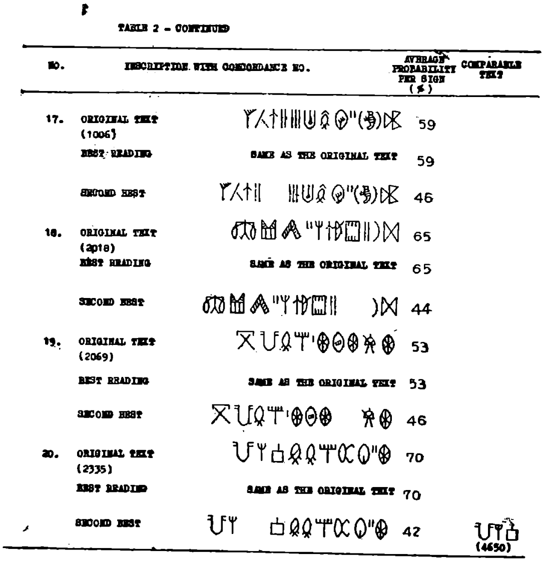


TABLE 2 - CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
17.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1006)		59	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	59	
	SECOND BEST		46	
18.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2018)		65	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	65	
	SECOND BEST		44	
19.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2069)		53	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	53	
	SECOND BEST		46	
20.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2335)		70	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	70	
	SECOND BEST		42	(4650)

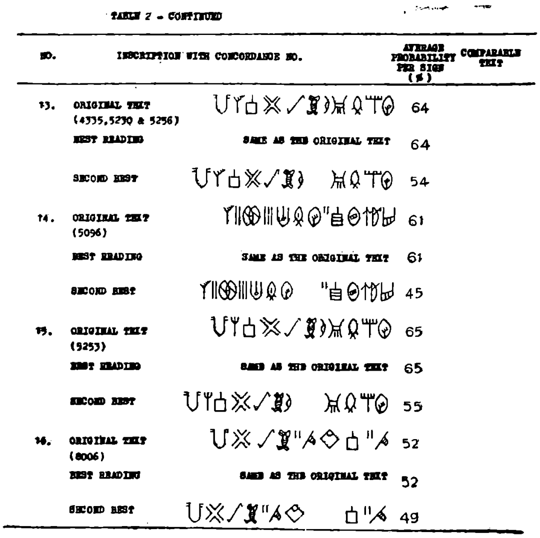


TABLE 2 - CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
13.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4335,5230 & 5256)		64	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	64	
	SECOND BEST		54	
14.	ORIGINAL TEXT (5096)		61	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	61	
	SECOND BEST		45	
15.	ORIGINAL TEXT (5253)		65	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	65	
	SECOND BEST		55	
16.	ORIGINAL TEXT (8006)		52	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	52	
	SECOND BEST		49	

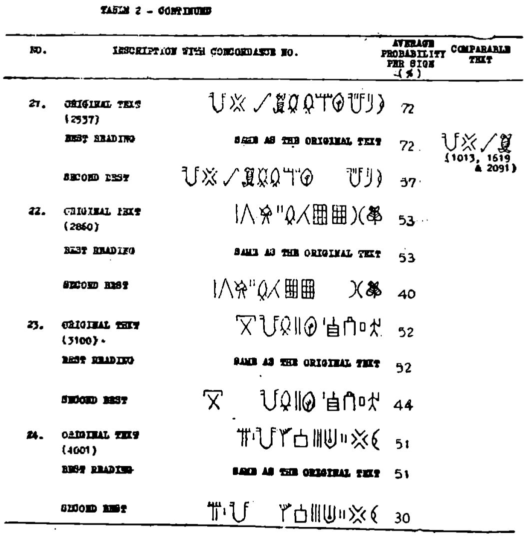


TABLE 2 - CONTINUED

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
21.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2937)		72	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	72	(1013, 1619 & 2091)
	SECOND BEST		37	
22.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2860)		53	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	53	
	SECOND BEST		40	
23.	ORIGINAL TEXT (3100)		52	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	52	
	SECOND BEST		44	
24.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4001)		51	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	51	
	SECOND BEST		30	

INDUS WRITING

Tables 2 (continued), 3 & 4

TABLE 2 - CONTINUED

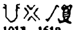
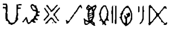
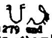
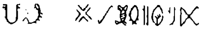
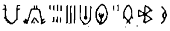
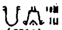
NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
25.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4005)	76	
	BEST READING SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	76	 (1013, 1619, & 2091)
	SECOND BEST	53	
26.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4019) 	66	
	BEST READING SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	66	 (1279 and six others)
	SECOND BEST 	58	
27.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4020) 	72	
	BEST READING SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	72	 (2214)
	SECOND BEST	51	

TABLE 3 - CONTINUED

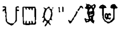
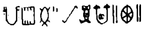
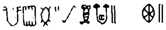
NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE SIGN
4.	ORIGINAL TEXT (5073) 	45	
	BEST READING 	57	
	SECOND BEST 	54	

TABLE 3. MULTI-LINE INSCRIPTIONS THAT GET FUSED INTO A SINGLE LINE AND THEIR SECOND BEST VERSIONS

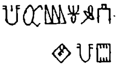
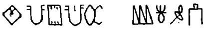
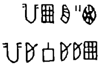
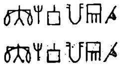
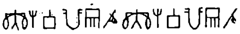
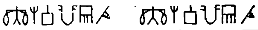
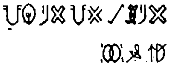
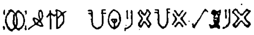
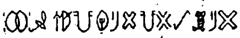
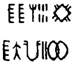
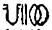
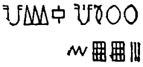
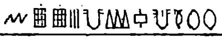
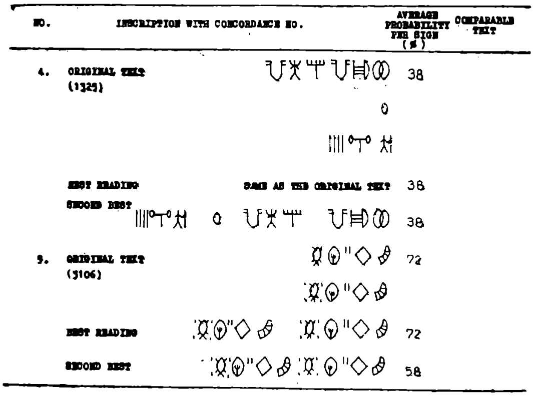
NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1159) 	40	
	BEST READING	61	
	SECOND BEST 	49	
2.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4123) 	34	
	BEST READING	52	
	SECOND BEST	44	
3.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4304) 	54	
	BEST READING 	54	
	SECOND BEST 	54	

TABLE 4. MULTI-LINE INSCRIPTIONS THAT COULD FORM MULTIPLE TEXTS AND THEIR SECOND BEST VERSIONS

NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1012) 	68	
	BEST READING 	68	
	SECOND BEST 	66	
2.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1227) 	41	
	BEST READING	41	 (7097)
	SECOND BEST	40	
3.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1253) 	55	
	BEST READING	55	
	SECOND BEST 	53	

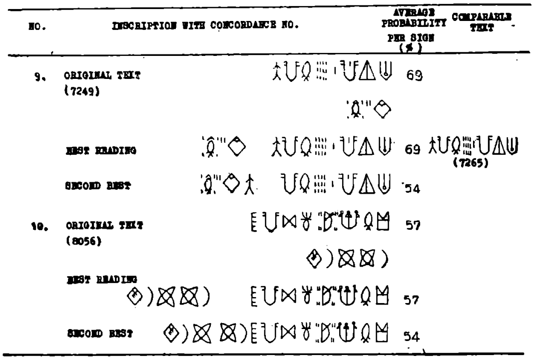
Tables — 4 (continued) & 5

TABLE 4 - CONTINUED



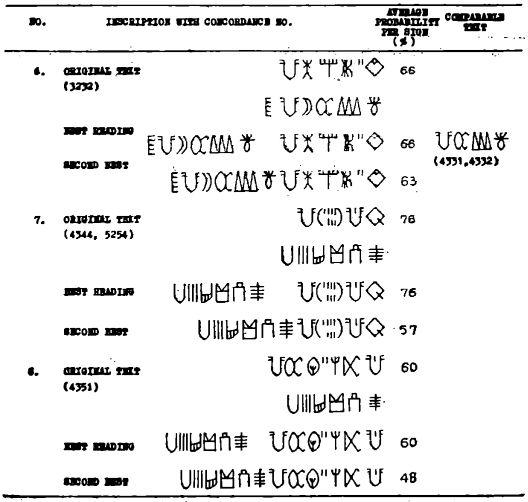
NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
4.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1325)		38	
	BEST READING	SAME AS THE ORIGINAL TEXT	38	
	SECOND BEST		38	
5.	ORIGINAL TEXT (3106)		72	
	BEST READING		72	
	SECOND BEST		58	

TABLE 4 - CONTINUED



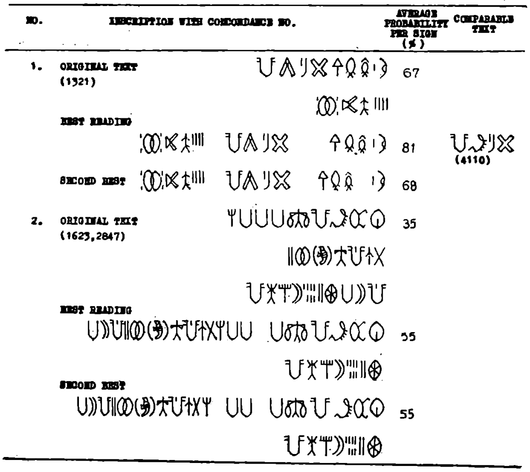
NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
9.	ORIGINAL TEXT (7249)		69	
	BEST READING		69	(7265)
	SECOND BEST		54	
10.	ORIGINAL TEXT (8056)		57	
	BEST READING		57	
	SECOND BEST		54	

TABLE 4 - CONTINUED



NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
6.	ORIGINAL TEXT (3232)		66	
	BEST READING		66	(4331,4332)
	SECOND BEST		63	
7.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4344, 5254)		76	
	BEST READING		76	
	SECOND BEST		57	
8.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4351)		60	
	BEST READING		60	
	SECOND BEST		48	

TABLE 5. MULTI-LINE INSCRIPTIONS THAT COULD BE SEGMENTED IN THE MIDDLE OF A LINE AND THEIR SECOND BEST VERSIONS



NO.	INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.		AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1321)		67	
	BEST READING		81	(4110)
	SECOND BEST		68	
2.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1623,2847)		35	
	BEST READING		55	
	SECOND BEST		55	

INDUS WRITING

Tables 5 (continued) & 6

TABLE 5 – CONTINUED

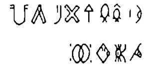
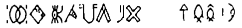
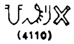
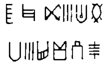
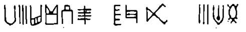
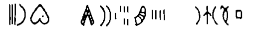
NO.		INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
3.	ORIGINAL TEXT (2398)		52	
	BEST READING		73	
	SECOND BEST		66	 (4110)
4.	ORIGINAL TEXT (4672)		55	
	BEST READING		55	
	SECOND BEST		43	–

TABLE 6. AN INSCRIPTION IN FIVE LINES

NO.		INSCRIPTION WITH CONCORDANCE NO.	AVERAGE PROBABILITY PER SIGN (%)	COMPARABLE TEXT
1.	ORIGINAL TEXT (1471)		18	
	BEST READING		43	
	SECOND BEST		38	

APPENDIX

Let DCBA be a given sequence of Harappan signs. The tables in *The Indus Script* would show how frequently each one of these symbols, "A", "B", "C", and "D" occurs at the initial, medial and terminal positions of the texts as well as how frequently each one of them occurs alone. For instance in 20 out of 100 cases "A" may occur alone, in 30 out of 100 cases it may occur in the medial position and in 50 out of 100 cases it may occur at the initial position. In other words in 20% of the cases, "A" occurs alone; in 30% of the cases it occurs as medial sign and in 50% of the cases it occurs in the initial position. Given that the sign "A" has occurred in an inscription, we assume that the probability that it is a medial sign is 0.30 and the probability that it is an initial sign is 0.50.

Each one of the signs then would have four possible positions and their corresponding probabilities could be estimated from the tables. We wish to find out whether the given inscription DCBA shouln be treated as D+CBA or D+C+BA or DC+BA or DCB+A or DC+B+A or D+C+B+A and so on. What are the chances that the inscription should be read as D+CBA or in other words segmented between D and C? We first find the probability that the sign D occurs alone and then multiply it with the suitable probabilities for C, B, and A We assume that C would be a terminal sign, B a medial sign and A, an initial sign. The product of these probabilities would be calculated and compared with the products obtained for other combinations. The best reading is obtained by choosing that segmentation which has the maximum value of the product of the probabilities. A string of length 4 can be segmented in 8 ways and a string of length n in 2^{n-1} ways. For a string of length 10 the number of ways of segmenting it is 2^9 ways or 512 ways. The calculations can be made by adapting a technique knowa as Dynamic Programming perfected in an area known as Operations Research.[7]

In order to compare strings of length n, the nth root of the product of n probabilities is taken.

15 A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HALMIDI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA KAKUSTHA

M. J. Sharma

Among the Kannaḍa inscriptions, no other inscription hitherto discovered could occupy the place of Halmiḍi inscription which was considered to be not only the earliest authentic lithic record but also highly important for the history of Kannaḍa language and early Kadambas. The inscription was initially edited and discussed by Dr. M. H. Krishna and others in the pages of the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1936.[1] Eversince, the inscription was referred to time after time and the same text was oftrepeated in the publications. Strangely, those who referred to the inscription, concentrated more on the discussion of the meaning and significance of the words therein, than attempting to re-examine and improvise the text. There is enough scope for such an attempt as the reading of the text and the meaning derived thereafter are not free from non-clarity for the reasons that firstly, the letters which were not so deeply engraved have suffered damages here and there and secondly, the language was featured by "a free mixture of classical Sanskrit and Kannaḍa",[2] with an unusual interlinked formation of words showing no definite indications for the termination of sentences. It is in this direction the present author has come out with some new suggestions in regard to the reading of the text and interpretation of certain words.

The text lines (2-15) with the improvised reading is given below.

2 nammaḥ Śrīmat - Kadaṁbapan - tyāga saṁpannan Kalabhōra[nā]-ari Ka-

3 kustha-bhaṭṭōrav-āḻe Naridāvi[ḻe]-nāḍuḷ Mrigiśa Nā-

4 gēndr = Ābhīḷar - bBhaṭahar-appōr Śrī Mṛigēśa Nāg=āhvaya

5 r-irvvarā Baṭari-kul=āmala-vyōma tarādhi [3]panō[ṃ] [Ābhiḷa]pa[4]

6 gaṇa Paśupatiṁ-ā dakshiṇāpatha bahuśatahavanā-

7 havadu[ḷ] - paśupradāna - Śauryyōdya - ma-bharitō-[n-dā]na Pa-

8 śupati yendu pogaḻe-pPoṭṭaṇa-Paśupati

9 nāmadhēyan=āsarakk=ell=ā Bhaṭariyā prēmālaya

10 sutaṅge Sēndraka Baṇ-ōbhaya dēśadā vīrāpurusha samksha-

11 de Kēkaya Pallavaraṁ kāderidu pettajayan-ā Vija-

12 arasange bāḷgaḷahu Palmaḍiuṁ Mūḻivaḷḷiuin ko-

13 ṭṭār-a Bhaṭarikulad ōnm-āḻu[6] Kadambōn-kaḷdōn-mahāpātaka[n]

14 irvvaruṁ Saḷbaṅgadar Vijārasara Palmiḍige kuḷa-[7]

15 mbiḍi viṭṭār adān-aḻivōnge mahāpātakan svasti

TRANSLATION

Lines : *2-4* : During the reign of Kadamba king Kakustha-bhaṭṭōra who is devoted to the bestowing of gifts and is the

enemy of the Kaḷabhōra, there were the Ābhīḷa governors (?) named Mrigēśa and Nāgēndra in the province of Naridāviḷe. *Lines 4-13*: These two, who were named as Mrigēśa and Nāga praised a certain Paśupati as 'dāna-Paśupati' for he who is the moon to the spotless firmament called Bhaṭarikula, who is a Paśupati (Śiva) to the gaṇas (tribes) of the Ābhīḷas, who has fully professed of heroism in battles and in giving away cows in many hundreds of sacrifices in the Dakshiṇāpatha and who is known as Poṭṭaṇa Paśupati (the Great Paśupati) for all those (*ella*) who sought his protection (*asarake*) and ; (*they*) made a grant of (two villages) Palmiḍi and Mūḷvaḷḷi in acknowledgement of the military service to that Bhaṭari's ([ā] Bhaṭariyā) beloved son (prēmālayasuta), Vija Arasa who in the presence of the heroic men of the two countries, Sēndraka and Bāṇa, fought the Kēkeyas and Pallavas, pierced them and attained victory.

Line 13: [Āḷu] Kadamba of Bhaṭarikula. He who takes away (this grant) is guilty of the great sins.

Lines 14-15: The two of Saḷbaṅga made Palmiḍi of Vijarasa as tax-free (kuḷambiḍi). The destroyer of this grant will incur great sins. Be it well.

In the above text and translation the following changes and interpretations are made.

1. The word *ābhīḷa* (in line 4) which was translated earlier as 'terrible or formidable', is treated now as a proper name Ābhīḷa.

2. In lines 5–6 the earlier given reading was 'tārādhināthan-Aḷapa-gaṇa Paśupati. This could have been read after the splitting of the words (*pada-chchēda*) as 'tārādhināthan-Naḷapa[8]-gaṇa-Paśupati' and the proper name Naḷapa could have been identified with the Naḷas[9] instead of Aḷupas for Aḷapa. But on re-examination the reading seems to be different. The reading of letters *tha*, *nna* and *pa* in 'tārādhināthannaḷapa' is questionable. The *tha* looks very much like *ā* and the conjoint letter *nna* can be read as *bhi* with its *ī* sign traceable in a semicircular form at the top. The last letter *pa* which is engraved at the edge of the slab though had suffered damage, looks more like *ha*. Also noticiable is letter '*pa*' which might probably be the missing letter engraved in a smaller size[10] below *nā*. The above changes with a little correction revises the reading as 'tārādhipanōṁ Ābhīḷaha. The *ha* ending in Ābhīḷaha which may be compared with the ha in '*bhaṭahar-appor*' (in line 4) may probably have been adopted from Sanskrit to indicate plurality.

The word *ābhīḷa* means formidable or fearful both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. Suppose if the word was taken for a proper noun i.e., Ābhīḷa[11], then it may be interpreted as a Kannaḍa varient of the Sanskrit word Ābhīra for there is only a difference of a single letter *ḷa* used for *ra*. Abhīra stands for a name of a race or the people who were stated to have dwelt in the regions of Bṛigukachcha, Koṁkaṇa, Mahārāshṭra, Karṇaṭa, the country on the banks of Vēṇi (Waiganga), Nasikya and others.[12] The derivation of Ābhīḷa from Ābhīra may be explained phonetically. The use of *ḷa* for *ṛa* was not uncommon in old Kannaḍa language and such use have been noticed often in Kannaḍa ins-

criptions as early as 8th century A.D. Dr. A. N. Narasimhaiah and Dr. G. S. Gai cite examples from records of 8th to 10th century using words *eḻdanu>erdanu ; niḻisida>nirisidan*; *eḻpattum>erpattum* ; *negaḻte >negarte, gaḻade* etc.[13] The present inscription provides another example, in the word *gaḻde* in line 16.

Apart from the above explanation, the derivation of Ābhiḻa from Ābhira may further be strengthened by explaining certain expressions found in the inscription. Ābhiḻaha-gaṇa (line 5) when interpreted as Ābhira-gaṇa leads to a further significant meaning. Ordinarily, a *gaṇa* means a flock, a tribe or a class but when taken along with the word Ābhīra, it means 'republic of the Ābhīra people' which was known from Epics and Purāṇas to have existed in ancient India, particularly in the northern part. On their migration to south some of them have occupied high political position under the Western Kshatrapas for some time and other Śātavāhanas for long, having their stronghold in the Khandesh region.[14] In the Allahabad Pillar inscription[15] of Samudragupta, they were grouped with other republics like Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Madrakas and others. Āgain in the Chandravaḻḻi inscription[16] of Kadamba Mayūraśarman, Ābhīras find themselves among those who have been defeated by him.

The other expression *paśu* (cattle or cows) occurring in the word Paśupati and paśu-pradāna, stresses the importance of the cattle. Ābhīras were traditionally known to have followed the profession of cowherds.[17]

3. The earlier reading in lines 7–10 and its disconnected translation[18] may be observed below. 'dāna Paśupatiyundu pogaḻe' translated as—(he who) is praised as Paśupati (or Śiva) in bestowing gifts. 'Paṭṭaṇa Paśupatināmadhēyanā' translated as - named the great Paśupati. 'Sarakk-Ellabhaṭariyā prēmālaya sutange' translated as - to the belowed son of Ellabhaṭari.

The above text can be improved and read as 'dāna-Paśupati yendu pogaḻu-Poṭṭaṇa Paśupati-nāmadhēyan= āsarkk= ellā (= lla= ā) bhaṭariyā prēmālaya sutange'. The word *āsara* is the Kannaḍa form of Sanskrit work *āśraya*, meaning shelter or refuge or protection and āsarakk=ella (āsarakke + ella) means for all shelter or protection or may mean for all those (who sought) shelter or protection. The word Ella-bhaṭari was interpreted for a female name but in the above reading the word has been split and only the name *bhaṭari* remains. The expression 'ā bhaṭariyā' can be translated as 'of that bhaṭari' or interpreted suggestively as 'of that Paśupati, the bhaṭari'. It may be explained here that the author of the text had already repeated the name Paśupati twice and for the third time he had used the family name 'Bhaṭari'.

4. In lines 14-15 the earlier reading 'irvvaruṁ Saḻbaṅgadar Vijārasaruṁ Palmiḍige kuṟumbiḍi viṭṭar' can be improvised as 'iruvvaruṁ saḻbaṅgadar[19] Vijārasarā Palmiḍige kuḻambiḍi[20] viṭṭār' and translated as 'two saḻbaṅgadar made Palmiḍi of Vijārasa as tax-free (*kuḻambiḍi*). There is a controversy regarding the meaning and identification of 'saḻbhangadar'. But after the change of reading kuḻambiḍi for kuṟumbiḍi, the word 'saḻbangadar' has to be meant only as 'provincial or local

officials' who were empowered to make the village of Palmiḍi as tax free.

The inscription though refers to the reign of the Kadamba king Kākustha, speaks much about Paśupati of Bhaṭarikula and his valorous son Vijarasa. It has been made clear on the above re-examination that Paśupati cannot be connected with the Āḷapas or Ālupas-gaṇa. The present reading 'ābhilaḥ-gaṇa' introduced by the author may either mean in ordinary sense i. e. fearfull or terrible-applying to the gaṇas of Śiva to whom he was compared or may be interpreted as Ābhīra-gaṇa which ultimately connects him to the Ābhīra-race. Anyway, Paśupati had been extolled in the South for his prowess in the battle and for his fame in bestowing gifts in the present inscription. There is another inscription engraved on the right door jamb of the Praṇavēśvara temple at Talaguṇḍa, which praises him in equal terms and further refers to (his son) Kakustha 'that he an ornament of the Bhaṭarikula, son of Lakshmī a Kadamba princess and he who became the chief among the 10 *maṇḍalikas* with control over custom duties and pleased his master the king not only by his modesty but also by the addition he made to the royal treasury and other deeds. Though the above inscription does not clearly state that it was Paśupati of the Bhaṭarikula as the father of Kakustha, the Bhaṭarivaṁśatilaka whose mother was a princess of Kadamba family, it was believed[21] that there could be no one else than the great Paśupati was had been extolled in the above and present inscriptions. It was also believed that Lakshmī, the Kadamba princess was very probably, one of the many daughters of Kākusthavarman and that her son was named as Kākustha-bhaṭari after his maternal grand father. However, it is difficult to identify his son with Vijarasa of our record, though both were praised for their courage in the inscriptions.

On analysing the above facts with the help of the improved reading and other related inscriptions, certain points can be made clear and a better political picture prevailing then can be presented.

Firstly, the fact that Paśupati was a contemporary of Kākusthavarman was further proved by the inscription on the right door-jamb of Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda which extolls him in similar terms and establishes a matrimonial relationship between Kadambas and Bhaṭari families.

Secondly, even if there was an absence of reference to the reign of Kākusthavarman in the present inscription, the event referring to the fight and victory over the Kēkayas, may have to be ascribed to his (Kākusthavarman's) period alone. Because, none of the inscriptions of Śantivarma, his son and Mṛigēśavarma, his grandson refer to any fight or unfriendly relationship with the Kekeyas and further, Mṛigēśavarma was known to have married a Kēkaya princess named Prabhāvati according to an inscription which was found engraved on the left door-jamb of Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda.

The extension of the Kadamba kingdom under Kākusthavarma can be given by the references to the royal families. It can be stated that he had defeated in the

west the Kēkayas, (the coastal region of North Canara) and in the east the Pallavas and his subordinates were the Sēndrakas, Bāṇas and the Bhaṭaris (Ābhīras ?). The Tāḷagunda pillar inscription speaks of him as one of the greatest rulers with a prosperous reign and his daughters were married to many important royal families, including the Guptas. It can be significantly noted that he bears the appellation 'Kalabhōranā-ari meaning the enemy of the ruler of the Kalabhora. Kalabhora was identified with the Kalabhras, a powerful people who had occupied the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and even threatened the independence of the Pallavas sometime. Their occupation was believed to be about three centuries before c. 675 A. D. when the first reference of their defeat is known to the history.[22] Whatever may be, it is very clear from the expression Kalabhōranā-ari, that Kākusthavaraman was contemporary to the Kalabhras and might have had battles fought with them as the appellation reveals to be. And it is also natural to conclude that after defeating the Pallavas he had faced the Kalabhras who had occupied the Pāṇḍyan country.

Notes :-

1 *M.A.R.*, 1936, pp. 72-81 and plate.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
3 The letter *'pa'* is engraved below *nō* [*ṁ*] in smaller size.
4 The earliear reading of the words here were *'tārādhi Pnāthannalapa'*.
5 The earlier reading was *'Ellabhaṭariya'*. *'Ellabhaṭari'* was taken as a proper name.
6 The earlier reading as *'odon-Aḷuo-'*.
7 The previous reading as *'kuṟu'*.
8 The *'pa'* ending may have to be treated in similar terms as in *'Kadambapa'* in line 1.
9 Naḷas were stated to have been defeated along with Kadambas and Mauryas by Chalukya Kirtivarman I. (*Naḷa-Maurya-Kadamba-Kāḷarātriḥ*)—Aihoḷe Inscription of Pulakēśin II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.
10 Similar instance is seen with the letter *la* engraved in a smaller size below the letter *ya* in the word 'prēmālaya' (line 9).
11 Both ḷa and ḻa are used for the word *ābhiḷa* occurring in lines 4-5.
12 *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxii.
13 G. S. Gai : Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa, p. 17 and Prof. A. N. Narasimhaiah : A Grammar of Old Kanarese Inscriptions, p. 62.
14 *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxiii.
15 Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, p. 265 and f.n. 14.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 473.
17 *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxii. And they had their appellation Gōpa, Gōpāla (later known as Guala). It is interesting to note that the above appellation points out their inclination towards Vishṇu cult and the 'Sudarśana' engraved at the top of the inscription may further support the identification (author).
18 *M.A.R.*, 1936, pp. 73-74.
19 *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 35.
20 *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
21 *Ibid.*, 1936, p. 81.
22 K.A.N. Sastri : History of South India, p. 44.

16 PISANGAON INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN RAJAMATI, VIKRAMA 1532

Venkatesha

The inscription[1] which forms the subject of the present paper is engraved on a long pillar which was originally found in the village Pisangaon in Ajmer District of Rajasthan. It is now deposited in the Rajaputana Museum at Ajmer. This epigraph was briefly noticed by G. H. Ojha long ago.[2] This record is very significant as it throws important light on the history of Ajmer during the 15th century.

The characters of this record are Nāgarī and are regular for the period. The language is Sanskrit. This inscription has sufferered some damage in some places and consequently lines 7-19 are difficult to make out. It is partly in prose and partly in poetry.

The epigraph begins with the well-known auspicious words *svasti-śrī*. This is followed by an invocatory verse in praise of Gaṇēśa and Sarasvatī. Then it proceeds to describe the Paramāra family in which were born such famous kings as Muṁja and Bhōja. To that illustrious family belonged king Hammīradēva. Then three rulers are mentioned in succession viz., Harapāla, Mahīpāla and Raghunātha. Rājamatī who appears to have been the wife of Raghunātha is described as well-versed in 64 arts (*chatuḥ-shashṭhi-kal-ānvitā*), devoted to her lord, charming and endowed with good sons (*sat-putrā*). She is also stated to be much devoted to the worship of god (*dēva-bhakti-ratā-nityaṁ*). Then her son and grandson whose names are unfortunately illegible, appear to have been described. From the reading of line No. 19 it can also be known that she seemed to have had a daughter called Kalā. The genealogy of Rājamatī is described. She is stated to have been the daughter of *Rāṭhauḍa* Durjanaśalya, a resident of the place called Vāhaḍamēra i. e., modern Bārmēr in Rājasthan. Due to the damaged condition of the present record the relationship of the ruler Raghunātha with Rājamatī is not clear. But it appears from the way Rājamatī is described in the record shows that she was the queen of the illustrious (*Vikhyātaḥ*) ruler Raghunātha. She is stated to have caused the excavation of a tank for the merit and fame of herself and also the welfare of her sons and grandsons.

The date of the record is given as Vikrama 1532, (both in words as well as in figures) Āśvina śu. 15. The week-day, however, is not given. It roughly corresponds to 1474-75 A. D. At the end of this epigraph there is a reference to a construction probably of a temple (*sadma*) for Raghunātha by Dadhīcha, son of Bhaganāchārya. From this account, it is clear that by the time of this record, the death of Raghunātha might have taken place in whose memory, the *sadma* was caused to be made probably on the advice of Rājamatī, for her husband.

This inscription is interesting as it reveals the existence of a Paramāra family hitherto unknown ruling over the Ajmer region during the 15th century. It is quite possible that with the conquest of Māḷwa[3] by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and the eclipse of Paramāra rule in the beginning of the 14th century, the main Paramāra family or its branch might have migrated to Ajmer region and carved out a kingdom. The mention of Hammīra-dēva as the first king in the record points to his being the founder of the Paramāra kingdom in Ajmer region.

Notes :-

1 This is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*; for 1952-53, Appendix B, No. 11 ; Bhandarkar's List No. 848.

2 *Ann. Rep. Raj. Mus.*; Ajmer, for 1911-12, p. 2.

3 *The Paramāras* (1970), p. 199.

17 A SHARQI INSCRIPTION FROM ALIGARH (KOL)

S. Farrukh A. Jalali

The available epigraphical evidence on the Ibrahim Shah Sharqi's (1402-1440 A.D.) period is comparatively very meagre. The purpose of the present paper is to introduce an early inscription of Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi from Kol (Aligarh) an important town of Uttar Pradesh.

The purport of this inscription is quite clear. This is about a well. Every great Sultan (king) of Medieval period took keen interest in building wells and tanks. But inscriptions refering to term ***Chah*** (well) and Bir (well) are rare. ***Chah*** is a Persian word and *Bir* (well) is a Arabic word.

The inscriptions of earliest medieval wells in North India are from Abohar (Punjab) and Delhi. A *Chah* was built in Delhi by Saleh, a liberated slave of Badarud Din Ayaz in 661 A. H. (1262 A. D).[1]

This *Chah* (well) is among the charitable foundation of Sharqi dynasty during the overlordship of Mullo Khan Iqbal-Sultani at Delhi. Its find in Kol (Aligarh) is very important. The epigraph is important in indicating that Ibrahim Shah Sharqi extended his authority up to the frontiers of Western Uttar Pradesh, at a time when Sultan Nāsirud Din Mahmud Shah Tuqlag was also alive.

The object of this inscription is to record the construction of a *chah* (well) built during the early reigin of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. The stone slab bearing this inscription is reported to have been found in the environs, known as *Shah Jamal.* Six years back some persons brought this slab and placed it in the present mosque known as Masjid Loharan near Noori Baba grave in Mohalla Ghass Ki Mandi, Aligrah. Kol (Aligarh) was an important city of the Sultanate period. It was the seat of administration being known as *KHITTA-i KOL.*[2]

The language of this inscription is Persian. The style and the phraseology of the present inscription clearly indicates the tradition of Persian poetry as found during the *Tughlaq* period. There are many inscriptions, which give excellant examples of Persian poetry in India. The fact that inscriptions in verse are also available is not known to literary historians of Persian literature of India. A considerable number of verse inscriptions were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings and nobles.

The stone slab in its present state measures 11" by 11". The colour of the stone is light red. The present inscription is slightly damaged.

The script employed is fine *Naskh.* The text of the inscription consists of two fine Persian couplets and the word *Allah*, which are as follows:—

(1) بتوفیق رحمان بنا این چاه   الله

(2) شعبان   به درگاه   ز ماه

(3) پس از هجرت هشتصد و هفت

(4) بعهد همایون چو ابراهیم شاه

By the grace of the Merciful (God), this well was built moon.

In the year eight hundred and seven, after Hijrat (departure). (A.H. 837=1404-5 A. D.)

During the auspicous reign of king Ibrahim Shah.

On the basis of a list of inscriptions, of the Sultanate period, I have worked out a selected list of wells and stepwells (Bain) for public welfare.

In the following inscriptions, the words *Chah* and *Bir* are mentioned.

Notes :-

1 Bukhari, Y. K. *EIAPS.*, 1959 - 60, p. 3.

*See 'Inscriptions of the Sharqis from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh by W.S. Siddiqi *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 41-52.

2 See author's article 'place names and territorial divisions in Sultanate period inscriptions' read in the Indian History Congress, Bhubaneswar, 1977.

APPENDIX

List of inscriptions denoting years of completion of wells.

CHAH (well)

Name of Builder	Findspot areas	Period of Inscription	References
Salik	Delhi	661/1262	Bukhari, Y.K. EIAPS., 1959-60, p. 3,
Nusrat Khan	Kaman (Rajasthan)	669/1262	Yazdani, G *EIM.*, 1937-38, p. 6.
Aizud Din	Bediban (Bihar)	747/1346	Ahmad, Q.A. *CAPIB.*, pp. 30-32.

Yousuf	Hatgaon (U.P.)	854/1450	Siddiqi, W.S. *EIAPS.*, 1962 p. 49
		BIR (well	
Qutagh Khan	Abuhar	633/1234	Cunningham *ASI.*, Vol. XV, p. 45.
Son of ? ahmood	Budaun	Iltutmish	Desai Z.A. *EIAPS.*, 1966. p. 15.
		BAIN (stepwell)	
Tajuddin	Kappal	Muhammadshah Bhamani	Kadri *EIAPS.*, 1964, p. 28.
Nanak	Daultabad	722/1322	Desai Z.A., Yazdani Com. Vol., pp. 79-80.
Bamdev (Muti-i-Islam)	Amber	Firuz (Tughlaq)	Bukkari, Y.K. *EIAPS.*, 1955-56, p. 57.

ASI—Archaeological Survey of India (Report by Cunningham)

CAPIB-Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar, Patna, 1973.

EIAPS -Epigraphia Indica-Arabic & Persian Supp.

EIM – Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.

18 NOTE ON PONANGY PLATES OF VIJAYADITYA

M. D. Sampath

This set of five copper-plates of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty of Vēṅgī was received from Kanchana Nagabhushanam Nayudu of Ellore and noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1908-09 as No. A3. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore for permitting me to publish this paper.

This is a set of five plates, the first and the last being inscribed on their inner sides. The two exposed sides are blank. They are held together by a ring on which the bottom of seal (now lost) is fixed and bear an inscription written in characters similar to those of the Masulipatnam plates of this king. In the present plates the method of writing show some peculiarities viz., the top strokes of letters are formed by double dots instead of a horizontal stroke connecting them as in the Masulipatnam plates.

The characters of the record belong to the southern class of alphabets quite regular to the period and locality to which the inscription belongs. It may be seen that the final consonants *t*, *n* and *m* are represented by a special sign. *Visargas* and *anusvāras* are represented by dots.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the text is a combination of prose and verse. It may be noted that the consonants preceding *r* are doubled. The use of *virōdhā-bhāsa-alaṅkāra* can be seen in lines 20-21. The grant is not free from orthographical mistakes as can be seen in the use of words like °*sharmma* (line 45) for *śarmma*, °*dariśi* (line 10) for *darśi*, etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chāḷukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (c. 844–92 A. D.), but bears no date. The object of the charter is to register the grant of the villages Koḍamupparṟu and Poḍegu in Vēṅgī-vishaya to the 105 *brāhmaṇas* who were well-learned and residents of Poḍegu village, on the occasion of *uttarāyaṇa* and *mahānavami*.

The text of our record is almost identical with that of the Sīsali plates of Vijayāditya III. The record under study describes the genealogy of kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana down to Vijayāditya III. The record under study describes the genealogy of kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana down to Vijayāditya III with their corresponding reign periods, the grant portion, the donee, the villages granted and its boundaries, the imprecatory passages and the executor of the grant.

The text begins with the usual characteristic *praśasti* of the Eastern Chāḷukya family followed by the genealogy of the rulers of this family. The genealogical portion of this grant is identical with the corresponding portion of the Sātalūru[2] and Guntur plates[3] of the king. The chronological details given do not agree with the account given in the other two plates stated above. The Masulipatnam

plates[4] and Chāndavōlu plates[5] of this ruler do not furnish a long list of kings that are mentioned in the present grant, Sātalūru plates, Guntur plates, Chiṁbulūru grant[6] and Sīsali plates[7]. The change in the pattern of a standardised *praśasti* seem to have been introduced by Vijayāditya III probably sometime after his coronation.

Regarding the duration of the different reign periods, there are no differences between the present grant and the Uruvuṭūru[8] and Chiṁbulūru grants of this king. The Sātalūru grant of Vijayāditya III gives 35 years of rule to Vishṇuvarddhana III, 18 years to Vijayāditya I, 35 years to Vishṇuvarddhana IV, 40 years to Vijayāditya II and eighteen months to Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana V. Most of the inscriptions allot forty years but a few of them assign forty one including our record yet others a reign period of 44 and 48 years to Vijayāditya II, Narēndramṛigarāja. This difference can be reconciled by explaining his heir ruling apparently for the period of over and above 40 or 41 years. To Vishṇuvarddhana V, the present as well as the Guntur plates give a reign period of 20 months unlike the Attili grant of Bhīma I[9] and Sātalūru plate of Vijayāditya III which points to a reign period of one and a half years. The reign period is rounded off in our record by the composer.

Our record does not give the details of date except the occasion and the *tithi* on which the grant was made. The *mahāna*[*va**]*mi* day does not occur neither during the period of *uttarāyaṇa* or *makarasaṅkrānti*. Hence, the details cannot be taken as true to fix the date of issue of this charter. If the correction of *navami tithi* for *mahānavami* is given, then the details would correspond to three dates within the reign period of Vijayāditya III. They are 844 A.D., December 22, 867 A.D., December 23 and 886 A.D., December 23.

The first date falls during the year of his accession. We come to know from the Addanki inscription[10] that Paṇḍaraṅga was appointed as the general of this king in the year of his coronation, which has been taken to be 844 A. D., by the editor of this record. Our grant suggests that this general succeeded his father who is mentioned by the designation of his office *i.e.*, *Kaṭeyarāja* and not by his personal name. There are only two records including the one under review that furnish this information. All the charters of this king are known to have been issued by his *ājñapti* Paṇḍaraṅga. It may be pointed out in the light of available evidences that Paṇḍaraṅga could have been appointed in succession to his father after the latter's death in 844 A. D. It may be emphasized that the appointment of Paṇḍaraṅga as the commander of the army against the twelve Bōya-kōṭṭams in the first year of Vijayāditya's reign,[11] presupposes the death of his father on this date.

Regarding the historical details it is stated in the present record that Vijayāditya III captured the royal insignia of the Vallabha (i.e., the Rāshṭrakūṭa). Also, we come to know from his Sātalūru plates that he captured the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, the Sun, the Moon, the symbols of the Rāshṭrakūṭa royal insignia and the Pāli-dhvaja.[12] None of his records give us clue to the date of his war with the

Rāshṭrakūṭas. It is probable that the attack was made on the Rāshṭrakūṭas after his success over the Bōya-kōṭṭams. The contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa king during this period was Amōghavarsha I (c. 814-880 A. D.). A number of Rāshṭrakūṭa charters[13] like the Begumra plates of Indra III and Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV allude to the involvement of this king in a war with his Chāḷukyan enemy at Viṅgavalli. Sri Parabrahma Sastri had suggested that this could have been Vijayāditya III who is referred to have destroyed the place Stambha[14]. But since the name of the Chāḷukya whom Amōghavarsha opposed is not mentioned in the above Rāshṭrakūṭa charters, it is difficult to accept this. Moreover it is not known when and how long Amōghavarsha I accepted the overlordship of the Chāḷukyas. This is evident from the Kaluchuṁbaṟṟu plates[15] of Amma II which states that Vijayāditya was an *aṅkakāra* of his master whose arms were worshipped by the Vallabha (i. e., the Rāshṭrakūṭas). A Rāshṭrakūṭa opposing the enemy kings by worshipping Vijayāditya's arms is further mentioned in the Sisali plates[16] of Vijayāditya III. (*yasya bhujam - Nṛipatuṅga prati-dinam=abhy=archchya bhavati ripu-nṛipatuṅgaḥ*). The Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma II alone refers to the participation of Vallabha in support of Saṅkila, the lord of Ḍāhala, in the latter's war with Vijayāditya, who is also called *Parachakrarāma.*[17] It is further stated that Paṇḍaraṅga burnt the city where Kṛishṇarāja was encamping. If this evidence could be relied upon, it has to be explained as to who this Kṛishṇarāja is and how he happened to camp here. It is nowhere specifically mentioned that the general of Vijayāditya III invaded the forces of Kṛishṇa II and put them to flight. On the other hand it is his brother's son Bhīma I (acc. 892 A.D.) who is stated in the Veḍatulūru grant to have defeated his *dāyādas* and to have vanquished the army of Kṛishṇa-Vallabha of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family in the battles at Niravadyaputra and Peruvaṅgūru.[18] Kṛishṇa II (acc. 880 A. D.) was the Rāshṭrakūṭa adversary of the Chāḷukya king Bhīma I and not Vijayāditya III as taken by some scholars from the account given in the Dharmavaram epigraph of Bhīma I[19] and Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma II. The success of Bhīma I over the Rāshṭrakūṭa army referred to in his Paṇḍipāka grant[20] is said to have taken place before he crowned himself as king. This must be the first attack over his enemies Karṇāṭas and Lāṭas which is referred to in the Veḍatulūru and Mōga grants of Bhīma I.[21]

It may be said that the Rāshṭrakūṭa-Chāḷukya encounter seem to have commenced either in the last years of Vijayāditya III or after his death, for it is alluded to in the Ēḍēru plates of Amma I[22] that the Vēṅgī region was encircled by the forces of the Raṭṭas and the Chāḷukya kinsmen, as if by darkness. Thus the Vēṅgī region that was once lost to the Rāshṭrakūṭas was regained by the successor of Vijayāditya III i. e., Bhīma I probably before his accession to the throne in 892 A.D. His coronation is stated to have taken place on 17th April, 892 A. D.[33]

Vijayāditya is endowed with the titles *manujaprākāra*, *raṇaraṁga*, *śūdraka*, *Vikrama-dhavaḷa*, *parachakrarāma*, *nṛipatimārttāṇḍa*, *birudāṁka-bhīma* and *arasarakēsari.*

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The Maliyapūṇḍi plates of Amma II[24] is yet another record where he is attributed with the title *parachakrarāma.*

The present charter reveals that Śīlamahādēvī of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family was the queen of Kali-Viṭṭarasa and the mother of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. She is the same as Śīlakāṁbā, a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess and daughter of Indrarāja (i. e., Indra) and Paramakāṁbā referred to in the Kāṭlaparru grant[25] of Vijayāditya III. Again this Indrarāja can be identified with his namesake who was appointed by his elder brother Gōvinda III as a governor of Gujarat and Mālwa. Śīlamahādēvī of our grant was named after her grand-mother the daughter of Chāḷukya Vishṇuvardhana IV who was married to Nirupama-Dhruva.[26] Thus it is clear from the above records that she was a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess of the Gujarat branch and not of Mālkhēḍ line.[27]

The charter then proceeds to record the royal grant of two villages to the *brāhmaṇa* donees of Poḍegu village. They were proficiant in all the *Mīmaṁsas*, who studied what all there was to study and knew what all there was to know, who were well-versed in four *vēdas*, who were the equals of Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Parāśara and Durvvāsa and who discharged their own *dharmma*.

The boundaries of the gift villages mentioned in the plate are Vipparru in the south and Ēlūru in the north. The grant villages Koḍamupparru and Poḍegu may be identified respectively with the present village Mupparru and Pōnaṅgi, situated to the south of Ellore, the taluk headquarters.

This is followed by the imprecatory verses from lines 47 to 55.

This incomplete charter further refers to the chief Pāṇḍaraṅga and the death of his father Kaṭeyarāla. There is no reference to the participation of the latter in the wars of the king and the loss of his life for the sake of his overlord. It is possible that he might have initiated the wars against his enemies in order to secure the territories for his master. Of course evidences are wanting to say that Vijayāditya was engaged in warfare even before he assumed the throne. All the battles that he had fought can only be placed after his coronation date. It was held that Kaṭeyarāja, whose proper name is not disclosed by our record, gave up his life for his master (Vijayāditya III) in the latter's campaign against Maṅgi, Saṅkila and Kṛishṇarāja referred to in the Maliyapūṇḍi plates of Amma II.[28] Since the exact date and sequence of these events are known to us from any of the records, it is difficult to accept the above view. Also the suggestion of Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma that Kaṭeyarāja served as a general and took part in the aforesaid campaigns prior to the expendition against Bōya-koṭṭams is not supported by any evidences. Our plates as well as the Chiṁbulūru grant do not refer to the exact course of events in which Kaṭeyarāja took part and lost his life.

> "Para-chakrēṇa yudhv=ājau datta prāṇasya bhūbhritē sūnu[ḥ*] Kaṭēyarajasya Pāṇḍaraṁgō guṇādhikaḥ Vijayāditya-bhūpālō pada-padma-śilīmukhaḥ"

As suggested by Sri Parabrahma Sastri, Kaṭeyarāja was no more alive on the date of the issue of the record under study

and the Chiṁburūru grant of Vijayāditya III. The present grant is silent as to the circumstances and the object for which it was issued unlike the Mōga grant of Bhīma I which was made in favour of a general's surviving wife Mahādēvī, for her maintenance. Here also he figures under his designation only. The Kaṭakarāja family traced in the Mōga grant is also known from other records. Some of the members of this family referred to in the inscriptions are known to have served their masters in the campaigns against the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Kaṭeyarāja of our record is different from the one who figures in the Bezwada plates, the Mōga grant and the Dharmavaram inscription of Bhīma I.[30] The chief of the first and the third records can be identified with Vijayāditya, son of Niravadyadhavaḷa and the grandson of Pāṇḍaraṅga and the one who had the hereditary fillet Kaṭakarāja figuring in the Mōga grant can be identified with Durggarāja, son of Vijayāditya.

Notes :

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 122 ff.

2 *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 101-02.

3 *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, part II, para 62, p. 78.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 122-26 and plate.

5 *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-29, No. A2.

6 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, pp. 8-15 and plate.

7 *Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII, pt. V, pp. 482-89 and plate.

8 *A. R. Ep.*, 1912-13, No. A3; *J.T.A.*; Vol. I, p. 140.

9 *J.T.A.* Vol. XI, p. 254 ff and plate.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 273-74 and plate.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 274.

12 *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 105 and plate.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 27, 39; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 253.

14 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, p. 31-32.

15 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 186.

16 *Bhārati.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 486, Text lines 29-30.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 48, 51

18 *A. R. Ep.*, 1914, No. A 1

19 *Bhārati*, Vol. V, pp. 619 ff.

20 *J. T. A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 256-57.

21 *Ep. Andh*, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.

22 *SII.*, Vol. I, p. 40, Text lines 28-29.

23 *J. T. A.*, Vol. XI, p. 245.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 47.

25 *A R. Ep.*, 1938-39, No. A 3, Text lines 20-25.

26 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 107.

27 G. Yazdani : *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 275, note 1.

28 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 47 ff.

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 130, Verse 7

cf : *Ājñaptir = asya dharmasya Kaḍēya-rājaḥ pratāpavān* ।
pitāmahō = bhavad = yasya Pāṇḍaraṅgaḥ parantapaḥ ॥

30 *Bhārati*, Vol. V, p. 616, 618 Text lines 2-3 (first side). The Dharmavaram inscription is palaeographically later than our grant.

19 BHATGAM INSCRIPTION OF THE NAGA KING PRATAPARUDRA

S. Subramonia Iyer

The stone bearing the inscription edited below[1] was discovered some years ago in the village Bhaṭgām in Sohagpur Tahsil in Hoshangabad District in Madhya Pradesh. It is now deposited in the Rāṇī Durgāvatī Museum at Jabalpur.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription does not bear any date. However on palaeographical grounds, it can be assigned to 14-15th centuries A. D. The record is not complete as the stone has broken off at the beginning of line 26 and consequently, the object of the inscription has been lost. The epigraph has further suffered damage due to the breaking away of a part of the stone at the right side resulting in the loss of some letters in the beginning of lines 1-12.

Of the palaeographical features, the following are noteworthy. The *u* sign is indicated in two ways. In a few cases, it is indicated by a small loop attached to the right of the horizontal bar as in *ku* in *kurutāt=*°in line 2. Otherwise, it is indicated by a similar loop attached right below the horizontal bar as is generally seen in the epigraphs of this period. The scribe shows carelessness in engraving by putting full stops imperfectly as in lines 7, 10, 12, 13, 14 etc where instead of two horizontal strokes marking the ending of a verse, only one stroke has been put. The ending of the second *pāda* of every verse is marked by two small horizontal strokes while the ending of every verse is marked by similar two horizontal strokes followed by the number of the verse wherever it is indicated. Sometimes the scribe puts a single horizontal stroks unnecessarily as in line 4 where it is not at all required. The verses have been consecutively numbered from nos 1 to 10. While engraving the no of verse 11, the scribe has engraved only the figure 1. The subsequent three verses that now remain fully preserved in the present epigraph have however not been numbered, Another instance of the carelessness of the scribe in writing letters wrongly can be cited in line 10 where instead of the letter *ya* in the word *yam=asūta*, the letter *ma* has been engraved. Again, in line 16, the scribe shows carelessness in unnecessarily engraving the word *nagari* twice. As regards orthography, the letter *v* has invariably been used instead of the letter *b* except in the word *Bilvapāṇēr=*° in line 3.

The inscription is partly in prose and partly in poetry. The prose passages are found in line 1 at the commencement of the inscription, in line 15 and lines 20-21. The poetry pertion contains 14 verses and half of verse 15. It is quite obvious that the epigraph would have contained more verses but for the break-

ing away of the stone at the lower end. The composition including the poetry portion does not appear to be of a high order.

The inscription commences with the obeisance to Śrī-Rāmachaṁdra. This is followed by two imprecatory verses (partly preserved) in praise of gods Śiva (*Bilva-pāṇi*) and Rāmachṁdra. The third verse introduces king Chaṁdrasēna who was verily the moon to the ocean of Nāga family ([*Phaṇi*] - *vaṁś* - *āvdhi-chaṁdramāḥ*). Verse 4 describes his father (*janaka*) whose name however is not given, who with his stout and strong hands bore the burden of the earth and was indeed another Mount Mēru. Verse 5 mentions his mother Dasamāṁvikā who begot her valiant son for protecting the entire world (*jagat=trātuṁ*). She is first compared to Aditi who gave birth to Dēvas and to Indra (Jishṇu) who had Kṛishna (Naṁdakī) as his younger brother.[2] Verse 6 refers to his (Chaṁdrasēna's) queen (*rājñī*) Karpurāṁvā who was known for her chastity (*pātivratya*), illustrious family (*kula*), munificence (*oudārya*), compassion (*karuṇa*) and largeness (*pariṇāhinī*). Verse 7 states that a son was born to king Chaṁdrasēna and queen Karpurāṁvā by name Pratāparudra who was renowned not only by name but was also in deed so. True to his name, he won many a battle in the battlefield that brought fame to him which looked like the rising of the legendary tree Pārijāta from the ocean of Milk. Verse 8 tells that while king Prātaparudra was ruling, righteousness (*dharma*) got support (*ālaṁvana*) in him and the miserable (*dīna*) and virtuous people (*sajjanāḥ*) got protection. Verse 9 describes that the earth due to its burden being borne by the strong hands of king Prātaparudra which is whitish in colour like the camphor became really immovable (*achalā*) (as it could not be shaken by any other alien king) and also got rid off its suffering from exposure to the poisonous breath emanating from the myriad and multiple hoods of the serpent Ādiśēsha.[3]

Verse 10 then proceeds to describe Bhaṭṭi-grāma which is stated to be a divine city (*divyā-nagarī*) and a place of holy deeds (*sukṛita-dharā*), Verse 11 states that lord Indra though satisfied with the drinking of ambrosia (*amṛita*) (in the heavens) looked suppliantly at the hands of the brāhmaṇa residents of the city for tasting the sacred rice (*haviḥ*) perpetually offered by them in the sacrifices. This verse suggests that the brāhmaṇas of Bhaṭṭi-grāma were very religious and were regularly performing various sacrifices. Verse 12 says that the brāhmaṇas of the city well known for their penance and amiable nature were always repeating Vēdas in beautiful *maṇḍapas* that are appealing to the mind both in *krama* and *pada pāṭhas*. The prose passage that follows speaks of the courtesans residing in the city of Bhaṭṭi-grāma drawying their fanciful portraits on the sky for the damsels of the capital city of Indra to see. Verse 13 states that the main thoroughfares of the city were frequented by slowly walking courtesans smitten with passion who appear to teach the elephants the art of walking stately. Verse 14 describes a person who was residing in the city of Bhaṭṭi-grāma at that time by name Āhava. He was an emigrant from Muṅga-purī and he belonged to

Bhāradvāja-kula. By profession, he was a priest in a temple (*dēv ārchaka*). The first remaining half of verse 15 states that Āhava had a son by name Hari-gaṇa who was renowned throughout the world. He was always interested in the worship of the lotus like feet of lord Śiva (*Girīśa-pada-paṅkaja-chaṁcharīkaḥ*). The inscription abruptly stops here. It is quite evident from the long description given in the epigraph of the city of Bhaṭṭi-grāma that it was the capital of the kingdom of king Pratāparudra. The same is no doubt identical with the modern village Bhaṭgām, the finds-pot of the inscription under study.

The inscription is important as it reveals the existance of a Nāga ruling family holding sway over the Hoshangabad region in Madhya Pradesh in 14-15 centuries A. D. The existance of another ruling Nāga family in Durg District in Madhya Pradesh in the 13th century A. D. is attested by an inscription from Chaurā[4]. Dated in Vikrama 1405(1347-48 A. D.) and belonging to the reign of the Nāga king Rāmachandra, the above mentioned inscription records the construction of a Śiva temple by the king.

Thus we find that different royal families claiming Nāga lineage flourished in different parts of Madhya Pradesh during 13-14 centuries A. D.

TEXT[5]

[Metres : *Anushṭubh*, verses 3-12 ; *Indravajrā*, verses 13-14 ; *Pṛithvī*, verse 2 ; *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, verse 1 ; *Vasantatilakā*, verse 15.]

1 . . . . [ḥ] । Śrī-Rāmachaṁdrāya namaḥ [।*]

2 . . . . kalyāṇam kurutāt=kirīṭa-taṭinī

3 . . . . ttir=iva sā śrī-Bilvapāṇēr=vibbō[ḥ*]॥

4 . . . . muṁchaṁty=udāraṁ sudhāṁ (dhām) । haṁsī-tuṁḍa-vikhaṁḍi-

5 . . . . bhūḥ ॥ 1 [।*] Tanōtu ja[ga*]tāṁ sukhaṁ sa khalu Rāmachaṁdrā

6 . . . . chala-sphuṭa-vighaṭṭanōṁmā(nām-ā)śaniḥ।[6] jayaty=amara-kāmi-

7 . . . . . . nām=āchalō gaṁbhīra-salilākara-prachura-sarvaṁkashaḥ ।[।*] 2 [*॥] [sva]-

8 . viśvaṁbharām=ēnāṁ rājā vāridhi-mēkhalāṁ (lām) ॥ Chaṁdrasēna iti khyātō

9 [phaṇi]-vaṁś-āvdhi (ābdhi) chaṁdramāḥ ॥ 3[।*] Janakō yasya nāmnā na kēvalaṁ Nāga-bhūpatiḥ। [dōrddaṁ]-

10 ṭa(ḍa)-bhūri-bhū-bhāra-bharaṇ-āpara-Mēruṇā । [।*] 4 [॥*] Mamasūta(yam=asūta) jagat=trātuṁ dayālur=Dasamāṁvikā(māmbikā)

11 Naṁdak-īv-ānujaṁ Jishṇōr=daitya-vairimm=iv=Āditiḥ । [।*] 5 [॥*] Rājñy=abhūd=yasya vimalā Kārpūrāṁv=ēti (rāṁb=ēti) vi-

12 śrutā । pātivratya-kul-oudārya-karuṇā-pariṇāhinī[7] । [।*] 6 [॥*] Pratāparudrō nāmn=āpi karma-

13 ṇ=āpi raṇ=āṁgaṇē yasmād=abhūd=uruyaśāḥ Pārijāta iv=āṁvudhēḥ । [।] 7 [॥*] Dharmō=pi s=āva-

14 laṁvō (laṁbō)bhūt=sa nāthā dīna-sajjanāḥ । achal-āpy=achalā yasya bhujaṁ prāpy=achal-ōpamaṁ(mam) । [।*] 8 [॥*]

15 Karpūra-pāṁḍurē yasya bhuja(jē) bhūmi[8] sthitā tyajat । garal-ānala-saṁtāpaṁ chakriṇāṁ

16 chakravarttinaḥ । [।*] 9 [॥*] Kiṁ bahunā [।*] Tasy=āsīn=nagarī divyā nagarī nagarī[9] na garī-

17 yasī । yad=agrē sukṛita-dharā Bhaṭṭigrām=ābhidhāyinī । [।*]10 [॥*] [Karā]ṁn=dvija [nma]-

18 nāṁ Śakrō vīkshatē yan=nivāsināṁ tṛiptō=pi sudhayā śaśvadḥ=havir=āsvāda-lālasa-

19 ḥ । [।*] 1]1*]]॥*] Yad=vāsi-bhūsura-vrāta-manō-vibhrama-maṁḍapē । sa-rāga-su-tapō-hṛidyā-

20 ś=chakramaṁtē pada-kramaiḥ । [।*] [12*] [॥*] Yatra cha vihita-vasatayō vārayuvataya[ḥ*] saṁbhāvanām=aṁbhōli-

21 khaṁti Jaṁbhārāti - rājadhānī - raṁbhōrūṇāṁ [avalōkanārthaṁ*] । Vīthīsu yasyā vipulāsu kīta (kāṁtā) yātā-

22 ni maṁdaṁ mada-maṁtharāṇi । kampā-vasē(śē)n=ōpadiśaṁti nūnaṁ madālasānām =iva vā-

23 raṇānāṁ (nām) ॥ [13*] [॥*] Alam=alam=atiprasaṁgēna [।*] Tasyān=nivāva(sa)-=saṁkalapāṁ (kalpāṁ) chakāra dhīmān

24 Bharadvāja-kul-āvataṁsaḥ । dēvārchakaś=Āhara-nāmadhēyō mudākarō Munga-

25 purī-nivāsī । tasy=ātmajō Hariganaḥ prathitaḥ prithivyāṁ (vyām) ।[10] āsid=Giriśa-

26 pada-paṁkaja-chaṁcharīkaḥ [॥*][11] ....

Notes :

1 This has been registered as No. B 189 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1978-79. Our thanks are due to the chief epigraphist for permitting us to edit the record in the pages of this journal.

2 The latter similie does not seem to be appropriate.

3 The reference is to the well known legend of the burden of the earth being borne on its thousand heads by the serpent Ādiśēsha.

4 *A.R.I.E.*, 1962-63, No. C 1746.

5 From impressions.

6 The single stroke here is redundant.

7 See *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa,, sr. 1, v. 36.

8 For the *visarga-lōpa*, vide *vārtika-khar = parē śari vā visarga lōpō vaktavyaḥ*.

9 The word *nagarī* is repeated twice and the second word may be considered redundant.

10 The single stroke is unnecessary.

11 The rest of the inscription has been lost.

20 SEALINGS OF STHANESARA (OR STHANVISVARA) FROM THANESAR REGION

S. P. Shukla

The present paper attempts to deal with a few terracotta sealings of identical purport discovered from the excavations at Daulatpur in Kurukshetra District in Haryana some 15 km. north - east of Thanesar during the years 1968-70[1] conducted under the direction of Dr. U.V. Singh, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

The sealings in question are of two sizes but with an identical legend. These sealings show the representation of a trident on the right and a horizontally running Brāhmī legend *Sthāṇēśvarasya* i.e. [Seal] of Lord Sthāṇu and a wavy line below. These sealings are made of coarse clay and are light black in colour.

On the basis of the palaeography the sealings may be āssigned to the Gupta period. According to the rules of *sandhi* the compound word will be Sthaṇviśvara comprising of the two words *sthāṇu* and *Iśvara* which however has not been observed in the legend in question. Such grammatical mistakes have been noticed in some other examples belonging to the same period[2] and they are variously attributed to the prevalence of the mixed language of the preceeding ages, ill-equipped individuals or some mistakes on the part of the seal-makers.[3]

The sealings of Sthāṇēśvara (or Sthāṇviśvara) are of considerable cultural importance. These may have been issued by the temple of the same name dedicated to Lord Śiva. These sealings might have reached Daulatpur from Thanesar which is only 15 kms. away from the latter site. The ruins of Thanesar are identified with the relics of the ancient city of Sthṇviśvara[5] which has been glorified by Bāṇa (c. 7th century A.D.) so eloquently.[5] The name *Sthāṇviśvara* means 'lord Sthāṇu' or 'lord of Sthāṇu' but interestingly enough, Bāṇa[6] refers to it as the name of a *bhukti* (or district) of Śrīkaṇṭha *janapāda* where the Pushpabhūtis ruled. Moreover, from the description of Bāṇa it is not evident whether the temple dedicated to lord Sthāṇu existed at Sthāṇviśvara or not, although he elaborately describes the mode of Śaiva worship prevalent in the city.[6] From the discovery of the above sealings it is evident that a temple dedicated to lord Sthāṇu may have existed during the 4th-5th century A.D.

The āssociation of Śaivism with Thanesar seems to be a later development. The site where Thanesar is situated was the site of a humble village known as Thūṇa[7] in its initial stage. The village became significant when it was taken to mark the western boundary of the Madhyadēśa (or *Majjhimadesa*) during the time of the Buddha. The primary meaning of *Sthāṇu*, according to Yāska, is immovable (*Sthāṇus= tishṭhati*)[8], and secondarily it de-

notes 'a stump, stem, trunk, stake, post, pile, pillar (also a symbol of mountain)'[9] and one of the names of Śiva. There seems to have existed a big tree, in all probability a *vaṭa*, marking the place where the village was situated. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a *Sthāṇuvaṭā* (III, 83) and also a *Sthāṇutīrtha* (IX, 42)[10]. Like other places, with the growth of Śaivism in Kurukshētra, a temple dedicated to Lord Sthāṇu came into existence at Thūṇa village and subsequently due to immense popularity of the Śaiva temple the place finally came to be known as Sthāṇviśvara.

Notes :-

1 Singh, U.V., 'Archaeology of Kurukshētra', *XVVII All India Oriental Conference*, 26-28 Dec. 1974 (Souvenir), Kurukshetra, p. 30 and plate on cover.

2 Thaplyal, K. K., *Studies in Ancient Indian Scals*, Lucknow, 1972, p. 6-7.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8

4 Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi 1976 (reprint), p. 129.

5 *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, ed. by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, p. 81.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

7 *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya texts, Sacred Books of East* series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 38-39) V. 13, 12; *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, 62.

8 *Nirukta*, I, 6.

9 Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1962 (reprint), p. 1262.

10 Sorensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, New Delhi, 1963, p. 65.

21 MENTION OF VATSARAJA IN THE OSIAN INSCRIPTION DATED 1013 AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

L. K. Tripathi

The Osian inscription dated Vikrama 1013 was found in the Mahāvīra temple, which is the most magnificent temple of the group. It is still there. It is a long epigraph composed in Sanskrit. It is not well preserved nor is it available in well edited form. It has been published by Shri P. C. Nahar in the first volume of his book Prāchīna Jaina Abhilēkha Samgraha.[1] D. R. Bhandarkar[2] has also referred to this inscription, while dealing with the temples of Osian. The inscription mentions Vatsarāja. Bhandarkar believed that the inscription states that the Mahāvīra temple was built by Vatsarāja and this presumption forms one of the important basis of his discussion of the chronology of the Osian temples. The subsequent writers on the subject, like Percy Brown,[3] Krishna Deva,[4] etc., have followed Bhandarkar's belief and have regarded the Mahāvira temple as the work of Vatsarāja. And taking this stand some of the writers like M. A. Dhaky[6] have formulated further wrong hypotheses.

But a close study of the inscription will show that the belief of Bhandarkar is unfounded. The name of Vatsarāja does occur in the inscription, but in a different context and there is nothing to suggest that the Jaina temple was built by him.

The fifth verse of the inscription mentions Rāma and his killing Daśamukha i.e. Rāvaṇa. The sixth verse refers to Lakshmaṇa's performance, on account of affection, of the duties of the Pratīhāra and to coming into existence of the Pratīhāra family emanating from Rāma. The seventh, eighth, and ninth verses and the first half of the tenth verse refer to Vatsarāja. The seventh verse makes mention of his illustrious birth in that family, of his fame, and of the purpose for which he was created. The eighth verse describes his military achievements; and the extant portion states that formerly large armies were defeated by him (Vatsarāja)

The ninth verse describes the city of *Osian*, then known as Ukēśa. The tenth verse first mentions that this city was protected (*pālita*) by him and then describes the Mahāvīra temple situated in that city. The eleventh and the twelfth verses also describe the Jaina temple. Nowhere in the inscription it is mentioned that the Jaina temple was built by Vatsarāja. The purpose of the inscription is to record the meritorious act of the construction of a *maṇḍapa* by Jindaka which was added to the Jaina temple complex. As the inscription was found in the Jaina temple, the reference to Vatsarāja in the inscription was mistaken for the statement of the construction of the temple by Vatsarāja. But the presumption is untenable. The inscription, as stated, was not meant, for tracing the

history of the temple. In fact it was not relevant, because that would have overshadowed the glory of the deed of its donor. Such a reference, therefore, was uncalled for and was to be avoided, though the builder of the temple must have been known to the person who composed the present epigraph. A close perusal of the text will show that Vatsarāja is mentioned in a different context which is provided by verse 10 describing the city named Ukēśa (i.e. Osian) where the temple was standing. The city is described thus: With noble Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, whose all-sided protection was provided by that king, this excellent city named Ukēśa is renowned in the world. The inscription was composed and engraved in Vikrama 1013 (=956 A.D.), when the Pratīhāra dynasty had almost completed its imperial history. Therefore, the mention of the name of only Vatsarāja omitting subsequent rulers specially Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhōja, and Mahēndrapāla, whose kingdoms were definitely more extensive than the kingdom of Vatsarāja, can only be explained by assuming that either the city was founded by Vatsarāja or it was renovated or rebuilt by him. This is the fact that seems to have been stated in a poetic and indirect manner. The mention of all the four *varṇas* lends colour to this inference. There are twelve temples at Osian which are assignable to the period of the imperial Pratīhāras dating roughly from the last quarter of the eighth century to the first quarter of the tenth century A. D. No. other place is known to possess so many Pratīhāra temples as adorn the town of Osian. Similarly no other town of the Pratīhāra kingdom is given the honour which is said to have been enjoyed by Osian. Osian is referred to as *Śrīmat* (illustrious) and as protected by the king. The manner in which Osian has been described and associtated with Vatsarāja tends to indicate that the town received Vatsarāja's special favours and, perhaps, became the place of his residence, for some time at least. Osian is situated about 50 kilometres north-west of Jodhpur or Mandor, in more sandy and dry desert of Rajasthan, if viewed from the east. This topography of Osian and its description in the present epigraph remind us of the statement made in some of the Rāshṭrakūṭa records –Wani and Radhanpur grants - that Rāshṭrukūṭa ruler Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja and drove him to Rajasthan to take shelter in the sandy deserts and the present epigraph seems to substantiate the Rāshṭrakūṭa claim. This may also suggest that the original seat of Pratīhāra power was in the Bhinmal-Jalor-Mandor tract of Rajasthan rather than at Ujjain in Malwa. But these are only side issues which need not be discussed in detail here.

Thus the Osian inscription of Vikrama 1013 (=956 A.D.) nowhere states that the Mahāvīra temple was built by Vatsarāja. The inscription describes Osian, where the Jaina temple was already standing in Vikrama 1013 and mentions Vatsarāja only to associate him with the town either as its founder or as its renovator, and, perhaps, as one who graced Osian by his residence, for some time at least. It implies, therefore, that the construction of the temples at Osian started only as part of the foundation or renovation activities, that consequently, no temple at

the site can be assigned to a date earlier than the reign-period of Vatsarāja, and that the date of the Mahāvīra temple of Osian or its chronological position among the Pratīhāra temples at the site has to be determined on the basis of a comparative study of its art and architecture. The correct interpretation of the inscription on the other hand throws welcome sidelight on the Pratīhāra history.

Notes :-

1 P. C. Nahar, *Prāchīna Jaina Lēkha Saṁgraha*, pt., I pp. 192 f.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar, "The temples of Osia", *ASIAR.*, 1908-09, pp. 100-115

3 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), pp. 115-16

4 Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, pp. 29-32

5 M. A. Dhaky, The genesis and development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture", *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, pp. 114 ff.

22 A NEW INSCRIPTION OF EREYAMMARASA FROM BALLIGAVE

H R Raghunath Bhat

That the Chalukyas and the Chāḷukyas, in all aspects, have been receiving considerable attention may be substantiated both by the number of recent publications and by the research projects on hand.[1] Apart from the hundreds of inscriptions, monuments and sculptures of the Badami Chalukyas, the discovery of new inscriptions, monuments, sculptures, coins and paintings as Dr. K. V. Ramesh puts it, 'any time, any where and by any one needs to be welcomed as a laudable and worthwhile achievement'.[2] It is such epigraphical discoveries relating to the Badami Chalukyas, as the ones our learned epigraphists Dr. S. H. Ritti,[3] Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Dr. M.S.N. Rao[4] had discovered and the ones Dr.H.S. Thosar[5] and Sri C.A.P. Shastry[6] have recently traced that delight the hearts of any student of Indian epigraphy. A new inscription of Eṛeyammarasa from Baḷḷigāve happens to be yet another addition to the list of unique epigraphs of the Early or Western Chalukyas.

During my recent field work at Baḷḷigāve in Shimoga district (Karnataka), this inscription was discovered in the backyard of the house of Sri Dāniyōr Mahādēvappa. (My thanks are due to him and to the villagers of Baḷḷigāve in this regard). The epigraph was found incised on the bottom of the pillar, the top of which is broken. The broken pillar which is of about 1.5 mtr. height, 35 cm width and about 25 cm thickness is somewhat irregularly carved except the dressed surface on which is incised the record. The other faces of the pillar have been left undressed and uncarved. It is interesting to notice the six petalled lotus carving with the symbol of crescent on the top. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a relief sculpture of a flying yaksha with a lotus bud in his left hand was also discovered in this area. Carved in the Chalukyan idiom, this broken sculpture constitutes the part of a big sculpture.

The lithic record, in so far as the writing is concerned, is in a good state of preservation. The nine lines of writing occupy an area of 47 x 33 cm. The letters range from 2 cm to 4 cm in height. But the conjunct letters like *śrī* in lines 1 and 2 vary in height from 6.5 cm to 7 cm. The letters like *a* in line 6 and *ki* in line 8 are 5 cm and 5.7 cm in height respectively.

The characters are ascribable to early variety of Kannaḍa alphabet of the Badami Chalukya period. Initial *i* is found in line 8 (*idaṁ*). The letters like *r* and *k* are more elongated and evolved than the other scripts. Many of the letters are roundish with short but straight serifs. Near-standardisation of such letters as y, r, s, h is noteworthy. The examples for ḷ which is more or less a flat circle dividing itself into two and curving its ends both sides topwards with an inward dent at the base and ṟ which looks

like two identical near circles with a horizontal line running across them are quite regular to the period. The alignment and the palaeographic beauty are not so perfect and refined as we find in the famous Aihoḷe *praśasti* of Pulikēśi II, which is a classic example for royal, urban epigraph, in beautiful kāvya style. But still of all the early Chalukyan records, so far discovered in Shimoga district, this appears to be relatively a fine specimen of 7th century A.D.

The language of the inscription is Old Kannaḍa and the text is written in prose, in a matter of fact style. The record contains only three sentences. The impact of Prakrit is discernible here and there.

Though the majority of the Badami Chalukya inscriptions are stone and copper plate Sanskrit records, the Kannaḍa epigraphs begin to make their appearance in considerable number. Of over twenty inscriptions of Pulikēśi II, only five or six epigraphs, so far as we know at present, are in Kannaḍa, indicating the use of Kannaḍa language at the official, social level during this period. What really Banavāsi Kadambas did for Kannaḍa by reducing it to writing and by employing it for administrative purpose, as evidenced by three epigraphs[7], the Badami Chalukyas continued it quite extensively. The inscription purports in clear terms to record the presentation of *pannirbhōga, panneraḍu bhōga*, i. e, twelve *bhōgas*, to the *besadavar*, i. e. those who served in the locality, by none other than the ruling king, Śrī Raṇavikrama Satyāśraya Eṟeyammarasa himself. This donation is followed by the documentation of the names of six *bōaṁs* like

1. *Dāḷi bōaṁ*,
2. *Pasiye timbha bōaṁ*,
3. *Ballu bōaṁ*,
4. *Kūravi bōaṁ*,
5. *Adigaṁ bōaṁ and*
6. *Kasaka bōaṁ.*

This is followed by a short imprecatory sentence (*Śāpāśya*).

In so far as its historical-cultural importance is concerned we may consider essentially three aspects :

1. The identification of the king Raṇavikrama Satyāśraya Eṟeyammarasa.
2. The term *'pannir bhōga'*
3. The six names ending with *bōaṁ.*

In consequence with the rising regal status, Pulikēśi II assumed many imperial titles like *Satyāśraya, Śrīpṛithvī Vallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and so on. But the complete set of all these epithets does not seem to have been used regularly in his Kannaḍa inscriptions. Sometimes the title Satyāśraya (for instance), has been used in some of the early inscriptions to denote the king Pulikēśi II. A few significant *birudas* like Raṇavikrama have also been attributed to this great king. They are suggestive not only of his praise worthy deeds but also acts of valour in the battlefield. It is along with these regal titles that the indigenous or native name Eṟeyammarasa is associated. Since we have already seen some epigraphs which mention this variant name of Pulikēśi II as Eṟeyammarsa, Eṟeyappōru, Eṟeyatiyaḍigaḷ, Eṟeya[8] and so on, the ruling king of the present record may be identified with the most celebrated and renowned king of early Chalukya dynasty, viz, Pulikēśi II.

Moreover the Chalukya occupation of Banavāsi–Baḷḷigāve region is quite evident not only from such important records as Aihoḷe *praśasti*[9] and Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[10] but also from the Badami Chalukya epigraphs in the very region in question[11]. Pulikēśi II, after consolidating his position at Vātāpi, launched an extensive scheme of conquests to reaffirm his claim to the Kadamba territory. The area was annexed to the Chalukyan empire. It was then parcelled out among Pulikēśi's faithful ally, the Sēndrakas who received the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of Banavāsi - maṇḍala. This action was of course motivated by strategic considerations to eleminate the future chance of the revival of the Kadamba power there.

Though there are certain technical terms like *daśabhōga*, *asṭabhōga*, the term *pannirbhōga* here indicates simply the *jāgir* or tax free land set apart for the enjoyment of the persons for their specified services as suggested by the term *besadavar*. It is interesting to note in this particular instance, that the term *bhōga* is correctly spelt. But in the next few lines the colloquial term *boaṁ* is associated with the six names indicating probably the local Kannaḍa (through Prakrit ?) usage of the term *bhōga*.

Of the different meanings of the term *bōa* (or bōya of Telugu language), the meaning resident or inhabitant brahmin appears to be more probable. It also occurs in the inscriptional dialect as the title of a village headman or *grāmādhikāri* who enjoys, besides collecting, the land-revenue[12]. In most of the cases the word follows the place-names of which the person in question is the head man as in Iṟalūr bōya[13]. But in some cases it appears to follow the name of a person who was a bōya as in Mārṭa bōya[14]. After nineth century it occurs more frequently following personal names[15].

Whether it is with personal names or place-names, that the term bōaṁ of Baḷḷigāve record is associated, there are only six names mentioned in connection with the *pannirbhōga* or twelve bhōgas.

The present pillar inscription of Satyāśraya Eṟeyammarasa happens to be the earliest known Kannaḍa record of the Badami Chalukyas in the context of Baḷḷigāve. With the discovery of this inscription the antiquity of Baḷḷigāve has been further pushed back to the early phase of the seventh century on epigraphical grounds.

The epigraphical reference to six *bōaṁs* brought to light through this lithic record, is very interesting by themselves from the point of view of onomastics.[16]

TEXT[17]

1 *Svasti śrī Raṇavikrama*

2 *Satyāśraya śrī Eṟeya*

3 *mmarasa besadavarge sarba*

4 *pariyāra gōṭṭor pannirbōgaṁ* [I*]
5 *dāḷiboaṁ pasiyetimbha boaṁ*
6 *ballu boaṁ kūṟavi boaṁ a*
7 *digaṁ boaṁ kasaka boaṁ* [II*]
8 *idaṁ kiḍido pañcha ma-*
9 *hāpātakaṁ*

[My thanks are due to Dr K V Ramesh and Sri C A P Shastry for their valuable suggestions and help in this regard]

Notes :

1 Nagaraja Rao, M.S. (Ed), *The Chalukyas of Badami,* Bangalore, 1978
Dikshit, D. P., *Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami,* New Delhi, 1980.
Chālukyaśrī (Virapulikēsī Vidyavardhaka Samsthe), Badami, 1982.
2 Presidential Address, Section V, Indian History Congress, xxxvii Session, Calicut, 1976.
3 *JESI* VII (1980), No. 2, pp. 1-2
4 *Deccan Herald,* 27-2-1980, p. 3. ; *Madhu* (M N Deshpande Felicitation Volume), New Delhi, 1981.
5 *JESI* IX (1982) pp. 1-ff.
6 *Ibid* pp. 107ff.
7 *MAR,* 1936, pp. 72 ff. ; *EI* xxxix, No 11, pp. 75 ff. ; *Prajāvāṇi,* 7-2-1983,
8 See *SII* xx, No 3, *IA* XI (10-17), *SII* IX, No. 46 (66-67) etc.
9 *IA* XIX-19,
10 *EI* VI-5, V. 9, 10
11 *Ec* VII, SK 154, 155, 278
12 Budaraju Radhakrishna, *Early Telugu Inscriptions* (upto 1100 AD), Hyderabad, 1971
13 *Ibid* pp. 420ff.
14 *Ibid*
15 *Ibid*
16 I have taken up a study of these six *bōaṁs* separately.
17 From ink impressions.

23 ANKALAMMAGUDURU INSCRIPTION OF EREYAPPORU

C. A. Padmanabha Sastry

The inscribed slab is lying in a field belonging to Sri Ramireddi of the village Ankalāmmagūḍuru, Pulivendala Taluk, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh. This is engraved only on three sides and written in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of the beginning of the 7th Century which can be compared with the epigraphs of the early kings of the Vātāpi Chālukya house. The language of the record is Telugu.

A few paleographical features of this record are very interesting. The initials *a* (line 6), *i* (line 5) and *e* (line 2-3) are found in the record. The letter *k* which retains its longish feature, is engraved in two different forms. In the first type, the *talakaṭṭu* is indicated by what looks like an arrow mark, the two ends of which touch the upper part of the body (line 2). The other form of this letter has a slight projection at the right side top of its body (lines 3-4)

The *śakaṭarēpha*, is engraved interestingly in as many as four forms. The earliest form of this contains two separate semicircles joined by a horizontal stroke in the centre, thus dividing it into four equal compartments (line 8). In the next form, the two semicircles are not only joined by a central horizontal stroke but are joined by a small stroke at the bottom (line 2,4,5). The third form of this letter is a semi-circle with a dent at the bottom and a horizontal line in the centre, thus making it bipartite (line. 6). In the fourth form (line 7), the outer line of the letter has a dent and a horizontal stroke at the with the two inward loops on either side of the letter, thus presenting the developed form of this letter.

As a subscript, this letter is engraved in three different forms, of which the first is circle divided into four equal compartments, by horizontal and vertical lines (line 8). The second is a semicircle divided into four approximately equal compartments by horizontal and vertical strokes.

The third one is also a semicircle but divided into three compartments by a horizontal stroke and a vertical stroke touching the bottom of the letter and the horizontal line at centre.

Of the four forms of the super script, the last three are often met within some other inscriptions belonging to the same period and region, while the first one is comparatively rare and the earliest of all.

The letter *la* also is of considerable interest, in that it appears to be quite an early form. This is formed by two semicireles joined at the bottom by a small stroke (line 8). The absence of the horizontal stroke also differentiates this letter from the earliest form of the

śakaṭarepha discussed above. An examination of the inscription on the whole reveals the typical palaeographical features of a sightly developed variety as compared to the actual period to which the epigraph belongs. This is a unique feature of the inscriptions which come from the Bāṇa territory.

Of the orthographical features, the expression *nūṟaaṟubhanṟṟu* is interesting in two respects. Firstly, the word *nūṟa* is significant in that the final *ra* was not replaced by the inflectional *ta* as warranted by the principle of compound formation thus exhibiting its early feature. Secondly the latter half of the expression viz. *aṟubhanṟuṟu* is also significant as its last letter is a conjunt having two *śakaṭ-a-rēpha* as subscripts. The form *nṟṟu* is the precursor of the later form *ṇḍru*. The term *vēvru* is a contracted expression of the more usual form *vēvuru*. *Trikka* - the first half of the personal name of the *Trikka-bāṟa* seems to be a *tadbhava* of Tṛivikrama. Similarly Chebe-śarma may be a *tadbhava* of Śarvva-*śarma*. Regarding the syntax, the use of Sanskrit case ending *sya* in a Telugu sentence is found in Kāśyapa-gōtrasya Trikabāṟa deserves attention. However, it may be noted that we have examples to this kind of syntactical use in the inscriptions of some of the Vātāpi Chalukya kings.[1]

Though the inscription is not dated, taking its palaeographical features and internal evdiences into consideration, we may assign this inscription to the first half of the 7th century A. D.

The purport of the epigraph is to record the grant of a village (*grāma-datti*) to Chebe-śarmma by Taṇḍirāmuḷu. The name of the gift village is, however, not given.

The record opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the reference to *Pṛithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara........raḷu* Ereyappōru who was stated to have been ruling over Permmāṇapāḍi (lines 1-2). Lines 2-3 mention a certain Timma....(name only partially mentioned) as ruling Takōḷālambu. This is followed by the statement that Taṇḍirāmuḷu was ruling Kuchchaṇḍri (lines 3-4) as a subordinate of Timma. Lines 4-5 record that Trikka-bāṟa Chebe-śarmma belonging to the Kāśyapa-gōtra was granted a village, the donor being Taṇḍirāmuḷu mentioned above. Velgachu Bhaṭṭarukunṟṟu, and nūṟa-aṟubhanṟṟu are mentioned as witnesses to this (transaction) (lines 5-6). A certain Rāchēḷu is mentioned as a protector (*tāginavānṟu*) of the grant (line 6). Lines 7-8 contain the usual imprecatory passage.

The inscription under study is important in more than one respect. Firstly this is the only lithic record of Pulakēśin II in Telugu language and discovered as yet in Andhra Pradesh. Secondly this is the second inscription in Andhra-Pradesh to refer to Pulakēśin II with his precoronation name Eṟeyyappōru, the other being the Pedavaḍugūru inscription[2] which mentions this king as Eṟeyatiaḍigal. While the Pedavaḍugūru inscription refers to Eṟeyatiaḍigal as *Satyāśraya Śrīpṛithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka* the epigraph in question does not refer to his important title *Satyāśraya*. Nevertheless, the fact

that Eṟeyappōr is a well known name of Pulakēśin II and that the characters of the inscription belonging to the period of this Vātāpi Chaḷukya ruler support the identification suggested by us. It has already been established on the basis of the Pedavaḍugūru inscription that when his uncle Maṅgaḷēśa turned inimical towards to him, the prince Eṟēya retreated to the Bāṇa domain, whose ruler was, in all probability, well desposed towards him and encamped in the territory of the Bāṇa ruler. Eṟeya declared war with Maṅgaḷēśa in which the latter was put to death.[3] Significantly the inscription under study refer to Eṟeyappōru as ruling Permmāṇapāḍi, that is the Bāṇa region. This only goes to show to what extent the Bāṇa chief, whose dynasty is very well known for its absolute loyalty towards the kings of the Vātāpi Chalukya house, was disposed towards Eṟeyappōru the rightful claimant to the Vātāpi Chalukya throne. It is not improbable that the Chalukya prince, during his stay in the Bāṇa territory would have made some gifts and that the details of such gift would have been committed to writting after his coronation at his capital Vātāpi and that the Pedavaḍugūru inscription and the present one belong to this class.[4]

Of the geographical names occuring in this record, Permāṇapāḍi may be identified with Perumbāṇappāḍi of the later inscriptions and may be located in the Cuddapah Chittoru region. Of the villages Takōḷāḷambu and Kucchenḍri which obviously lay on the Permmāṇapāḍi only, the former may be identified with the present Takkōlu situated in Siddhavatam Taluk, Cuddapah District while the later is not found in the present Taluk map.

TEXT[5]

First face

1 Svasti[॥] Śri Pṛithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara . . . .

2 raḷu Eṟeyappōru Permmāṇapāḍi ēḷa vāri kaḷa Timma . . .

3 Takoḷāḷa[m*]b=ēḷa pāḷa Taṇḍi Rāmulu Kuchchenri—ē

Second face

4 ḷuchu Kāśyāpa(śya)pa- gōtrasya Trikkabāṟa Chebe-śarmma ku

5 grāma datti ichchiri[॥] dē(dī)niki sākshi Velgachchu pāṟū Bhaṭṭarakunṟu

6 nūṟa aṟubhanṟṟu[॥*] Tāginavānṟu Rāchēlu[॥*]

Third face

7 dē(dī)niki vakrambu vachchu vānṟu Vāraṇāsi vēvru pāṟanu ve-ga viḷu

8 vēsēru . . . . ḷachchina vāri gu[॥*]

NOTES :-

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 164, lines 8-9, *JESI.*, Vol. VII, pp 80. ff.

2 *SII.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 45

3 Dr. K. V. Ramesh, 'Pulakēsin II - His Career and personality', The Chālukyas of Bādāmi. ed. Dr. M. S. Nagarajarao, pp 56-57

4 I owe this suggestion to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

5 From the impressions. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore for permitting me to publish this inscription.

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in ancient townships of Pudukkottai by R. Tirumalai. Published by Institute of Epigraphy, Department of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu, Madras, pages 1–414, bibliography and index.

The work under review is the result of a systematic and judicious exploration of the epigraphical source material pertaining to five urban settlements (*ūrs*) all of them not of the same antiquity, but located in what may be called a characteristic though not strictly confined tract covering the Kulattur, Tirumeyyam and Alangudi Taluks of the erstwhile native state of Pudukkottai in Tamil-nadu. In tracing the history of these five settlements, viz. Nārttāmalai, Virachchilai, Tiruvarangulam, Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumeyyam and in drawing an authentic account of the gradual development of the distinct parts of these townships, beginning with their transformation tnto township and dealing with their growth, their residential population, their individuality, the stages of expansion of temples and the leaders of the society who took part in it, the royal officials or chieftains who helped such expansion and the growth of the townships, the family ties of the people, etc., the author has made an in-depth study of the epigraphical and other collateral evidence available. In that process he has also brought to bear on his study the invaluable field experience gained by him in different administrative capacities in the course of his illustrious career. Other aspects such as the day to day conduct of affairs in these townships, their role in irrigation and public works, in land and revenue administration, in conferring, changing and ratifying tenures and sub-tenures and their obligation, and in police system and preserving the peace of the community and in resolving disputes, and on the judicial system and procedures obtaining from time to time have also been competently dealt with.

Five more chapters (pp. 137-329) dealing with irrigation, the burden of land dues under the Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara hegemonies, tenures and sub-tenures and their obligations, watch and ward in township and civil and criminal cases are of absorbing interest and serve as a model for similar area studies on those topics of vital historical importance. The chapter on tenures and sub-tenures forms the cream of this part of the book.

After a master summary (conclusion, pp. 330-51) in which he gives out the essense of his findings in lucid style and with utmost clarity, the author has added a number of highly useful appendices.

In short Mr. Tirumalai's highly commendable work is a lesson on how to properly exploit hitherto untapped source of inscriptions for getting to know, in their right perspective, those aspects of our nation's history which have so far received but scant attention. While for the rest of the Tamil country research on these lines can be conducted on the same lines, making use of the rich information provided by the author in

this book and the very communicative inscriptions that are available in large numbers, in the case of other parts of India, the mastery which the author under review possesses in the field of administration in general and revenue administration in particular, will be surely missed by other essayists.

The author will be doing a great service to the cause of Indian history if he could find time to divert his attention to such of those parts of India where inscriptions are available in plenty but are not as communicative as those of Tamilnadu, he having already laid strong foundation through his present work for such an approach to history through Tamil inscriptions.

The world of scholars and students of Indian history indeed owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Tirumalai. The Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil-nadu deserve to be commended for bringing out this excellent research treatise.

K. V. Ramesh

Rajendra Vinnagar by R. Tirumalai, Published by Institute of Epigraphy, Tamil nadu State Department of Archeology, first edition-Madras, 1980 pp. 1-58 (and Annexture etc. total pp. 78), cost Rs. 25/-

The book is the outcome of the researches by Shri R. Tirumalai, on the temple of Vishṇu situated in the village Mannārkoil, Ambasamudaram taluk, Tirunelveli District, Tamil Nadu. The author has collated, analysed and classified the material with great care. The book is divided into two parts. The first part with seven chapters contains the description of the temple, the temple administration and the royal patronage to it in various ways. The part played by the representative bodies like the *mahāsabhā* of the village, the agricultural and irrigation systems, the various grants made for the upkeep of the temple and other socio-cultural activities connected with the same are highlighted in this part. The second part consists of the annexure, appendices, glossary, index, maps and plates which form a very useful appendage for the main discussion. The first part of the appendix contains chronological analyses of 38 inscriptions with synopsis and references while the second contains the texts of 14 unpublished inscriptions, which makes the publication absolutely uptodate and enhances its value for the researchers.

Chapter one, introduces the temple Rajēndra Vinnagar as Vishṇu shrine dedicated to Vēda-nārāyaṇa. The place formed a part of the ancient *brahmadēya* village Rājarājachaturvēdimaṅgalam. The details of the boundaries of the village are furnished. The author further highlights that 'it was in the milieu of the imperial cōḷa conquests of the Pāṇḍya country and further subjugation of the Cēras by Rājēndra Cōḷa that the temple of Rājēndra Vinnagar was founded by the Cēra ruler Rājasiṁha and it was named after the Cōḷa suzerain Rājēndra' (p. 3).

Chapter two furnishes the history of the construction of the temple. The *sanctum sanctorum* with its Śrīvimānam having two floors, the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the inner *prākāra* constitutes the oldest part of the temple, the other adjuncts being added later. The main deity Vēdanārāyaṇa, in the standing posture is flanked by Vēdavalli and Bhuvanavalli. The worship in the temple is conducted according to *Vaikhānasa-āgama*.

In chapter three it is shown how the temple-building activities went on phase by phase form the 11th to the 17th century A. D. The author traces the socio-economic aspects of the temple during the seven centuries, elucidating them with epigraphical evidences. It is interesting to note that the *brahmadēya-agrahāra* (which was tax-free) tenure was re-converted into '*vellān-vagai*' (tenancy) It is further stated that the king Rājēndra chōḷa himself took interest in assigning the revenue from the lands to the temple for its upkeep. In chapter four the author traces the increasing structural activities around the earlier temple complex, additions of various sub-shrines etc. and deals at length with the geo - political divisions (*nāḍus*).

In chapter five the contributions of the Tiruvaḍi chieftains who suceeded the Pāṇḍyas in this part of the country are highlighted. Chapter six deals with the structural activity around the temple during the Vijayanagara period and later and shows that during this period officers like *dharmakartā* were appointed for the temple. In the concluding chapter (chapter seven) the author has made an assessment of the role the royalty, the bureaucracy and the representative bodies like the *Mahāsabhā*, *ūr*, and *nagaram* played in the maintainence of and worship in the temple and had drawn the attention of the readers about the agricultural system, socio-religious activities, the performance of various festivals etc. It is really very interesting to note that the royal archives preserved original revenue records for more than two centuries and that they were relied upon to settle disputes and reclaim endowments which had slipped out of possession (p. 54). The glossary, index, map and plates are very useful for a quicker understanding of the subject. Shri Tirumalai with his deep insight into the economic administration and high sense of cultural perspective has made a very successful assessment of the epigraphical wealth and brought out this comprehensive work which is most useful to the specialists and students of history alike, for which we have to heartily congratulate him. The book sets a model for the study of other temples utilising the epigraphical sources. We congratulate the Institute of Epigraphy of the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology for publishing a work of this type.

Madhav N. Katti

Banavasi Kadamburu by Bā. Rā. Gopal, published by Kadamba Sāṁskritika Adhyayana Saṁsthe, Sirsi, North Kanara Dist., First Edition, 1983, pp. I-XXXVI, 1-78, Rs. 20/-

The book, *Banavāsi Kadaṁbaru*, in Kannaḍa is a welcome addition to the histrio-epigraphical literature after the *Kadamba Kula*, written by Prof. G. M. Moraes, in nineteen thirties. Released on the occasion of the 1st National Seminar on the Kadambas, the earliest indigenous empire builders of Karnataka, the book provides at once a ready compendium on the history of this dynasty, which deserves every pertinent attention of the historians and epigraphists.

The book is divided by the author himself into two parts, the first dealing with the history of this dynasty and the second providing a ready reference to understand it in its pristine purity by the study of their epigraphs, which are in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kanaḍa, the majority being in the language second mentioned. For the convenience of the researchers Dr. Gopal has also given a summary of epigraph after the text.

Being a historian of repute, Dr. Gopal has spared no pains in portraying, in a nutshell, the history of this dynasty though he says in the preamble (*arike*) that it is reduced due to the short time at his disposal. In part one, there is also a vivid discussion about the Kadamba capital Banavāsi and the dynastic name Kadamba, connected with the tree of that name (pp. VI I-XV). The more important rulers have received an individual attention of the author, while the rest find their place in the dynastic tree (pp. XXV-XXX). As an epigraphist, he has also discussed about the highlights of important inscriptions.

Part two contains the text of forty-one inscriptions, together with a summary and earlier references about the publication of the epigraphs. The epigraphs are either on stone or copper plates, the latter category (i. e. the copper plates) outnumbering the former. The inscriptions belonging to the first category, are engraved on pillars, rock, door jamb (*dvāra-bhadha*) and slābs. The language is either Prakrit, Sanskrit or Kannaḍa. The script is the box-headed veriety of southern Brāhmī known for its beauty. The Sanskrit inscriptions are either in prose or poetry or in *champū* style and some stand as a testimony to the literary skill of the author who composed the record.

Dr. Gopal has stated that he could have enriched the work more if he had sufficient time at his disposal, and this explains why he could not readily lay his hands on the remaining one or two inscriptions of this period viz., the Honnāvar plates of Kaikēya Chitrasēna, the Durmaya plates, both mentioning Ravi-mahāraja and the Kampli inscription of the time of Krishnavarma II mentioning Ajavarma. On account of the same reason he has also not given a separate page of contents, index and plates of inscriptions about which he is fully aware. He has accomplished this task in a different way by chronologically arranging the inscriptions. It is hoped that he would be able to bring out a second enlarged edition incorporating all these.

The scholars dealing with historical and epigraphical researches owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Gopal for placing in their hands this book which provides a ready reference to the history of this dynasty and enables us to make a comparative study of their epigraphs. The get up of the book is pleasing. The Kadamba Sāṁskṛitika Adhyayana Saṁsthe also richly deserves our hearty appreciation for this pioneering attempt in publishing this book as the first of its historical series.

Madhav N. Katti

Jaina Inscriptions of Rajasthan by Shri R. V. Somani. Published by Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, Jaipur: pp. 1-271 and Appendix pp 1-68.

Rajasthan is quite rich in epigraphical sources and thanks to the pioneering efforts of antiquarians like James Todd and D. R. Bhandarkar, they were made known to the scholarly world. It was however left to scholars like P. C. Nahar, Munijinavijayaji to make a survey of Jaina inscriptions including the several hundreds lying scattered all over Rajasthan belonging to medieval and late periods, transcribe them and publish them in book form. It is heartening to find that Shri R. V. Somani took upon himself the hard task of utilizing this hitherto untapped source material and make an indepth study of the polity, administration, socio-economic condition, art and architecture besides Jainism in Rajasthan from 10th to 17th centuries A. D. as can be gleaned from epigraphs. In this connection, it may be pointed out that many of the epigraphs discovered in Rajasthan are very much informative in providing valuable clues on the taxation system, land measures, currency, polity besides the religious practices and festivals in vogue n Jaina temples.

In the first chapter, the author has classified the Jaina inscriptions under five heads depending upon the nature and object of the epigraph. The author has devoted the entire second chapter to a study of Jaina inscriptions in providing valuable historical information. The third chapter is taken up with the study of polity and administration and the author's treatment of the subject is quite exhaustive and informative. In the fourth chapter, the author takes up the study of socio economic conditions utilizing the Jaina sources both literary and epigraphical. The fifth chapter is devoted to the study of Jaina art and architecture. The sixth chapter deals with the Jaina sects, schools and festivals. The concluding seventh chapter discusses the important Jaina personages and families figuring in inscriptions who have left an impress on the chequered history of Jainism in Rajasthan by their various activities. The author has provided three valuable appendices.

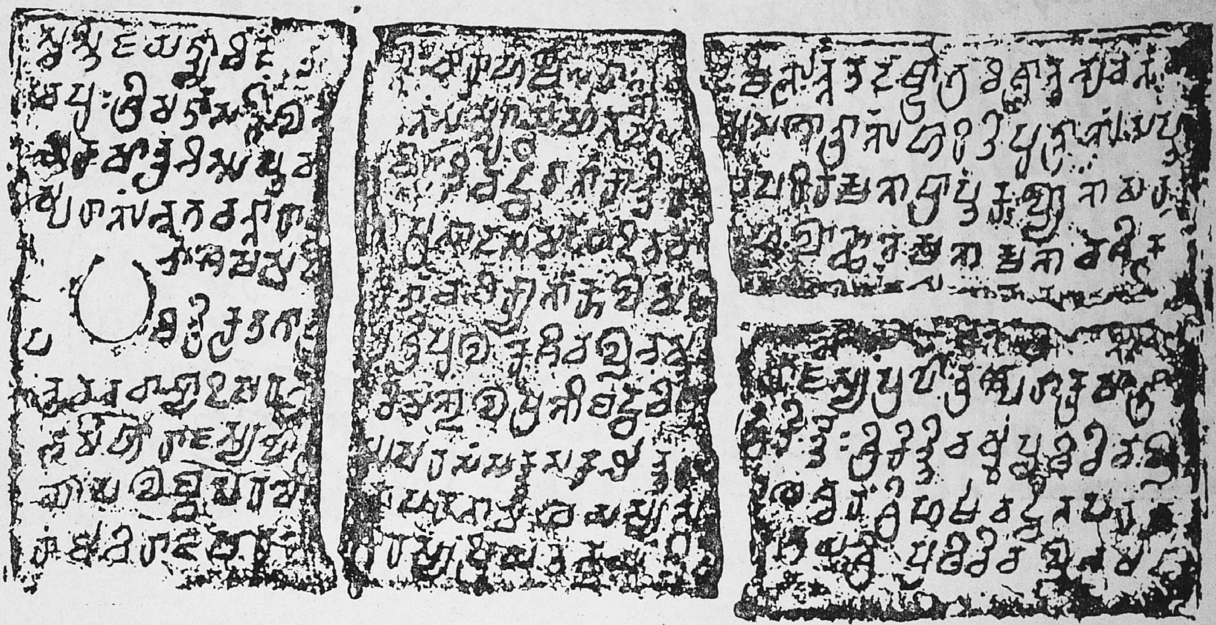
The author has done a commendable job in writing this book excellantly using all the available data and he deserves all our thanks. It is to be hoped that this work will be a pacesetter for other scholars to undertake similar studies in other states. The printing is good and tidy. The value of the work would have been enhanced had the author used the diacritical marks.

S. S. Iyer

PLATE I

TEMBHURNI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA

(i)



(iia)

(iib)

(iii)

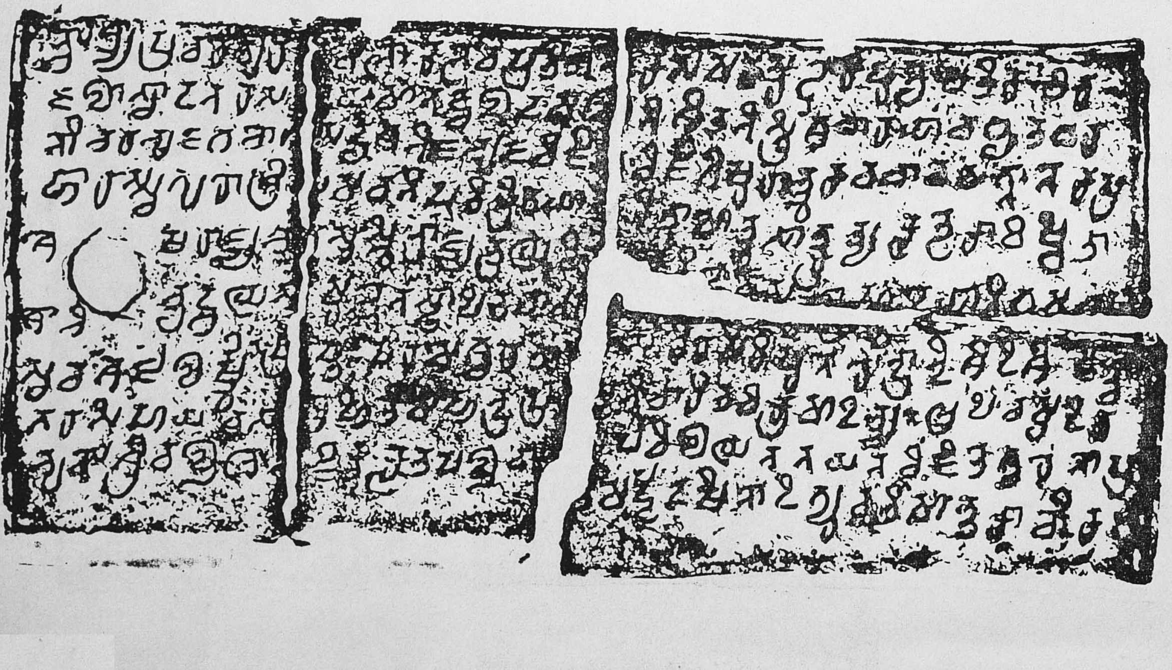


PLATE II

MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BUDHAGUPTA

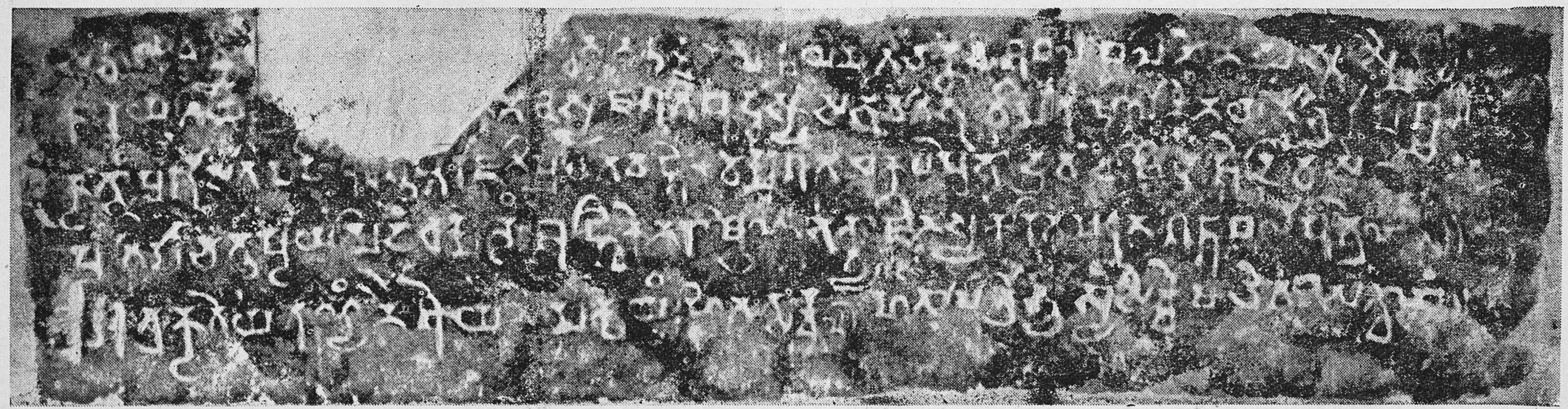


PLATE III

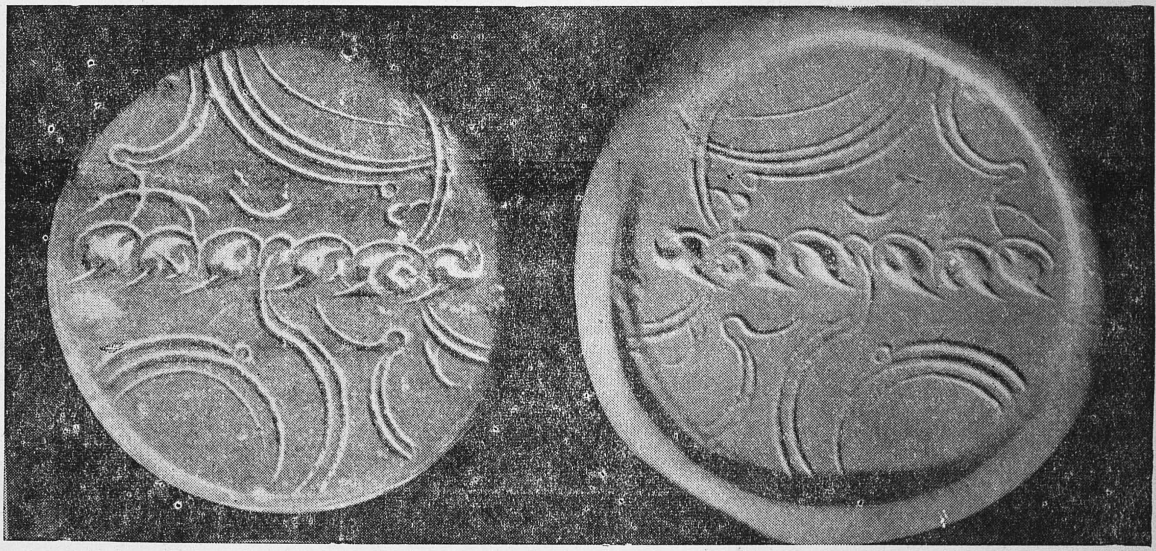
BADAMI CLIFF INSCRIPTION OF POLEKESI I

DAMAGED DUPLICATE INSCRIPTION OF POLEKESI I

(Below the inscription of Pallava Narasimhavarman I)

PLATE IV

A SEAL FROM RAJGHAT



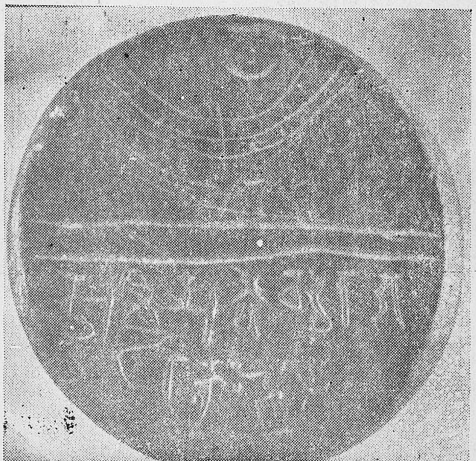
Obverse Plaster impression

SEAL FROM RAJGHAT

a

b

c



d

a–b–obverse and reverse

c–d– do (reversed negative)

PLATE V

HALMIDI INSCRIPTION

PLATE VI

BHATGAM INSCRIPTION OF NAGA KING PRATAPARUDRA

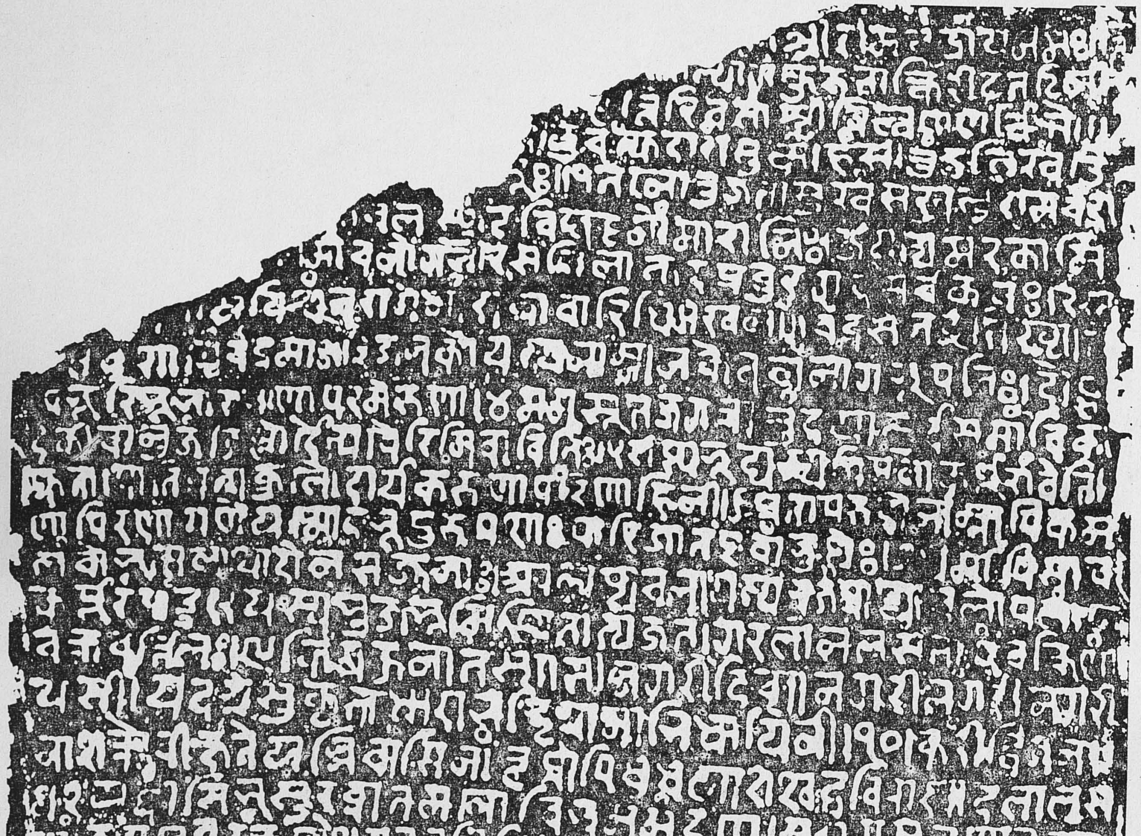


PLATE VII

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